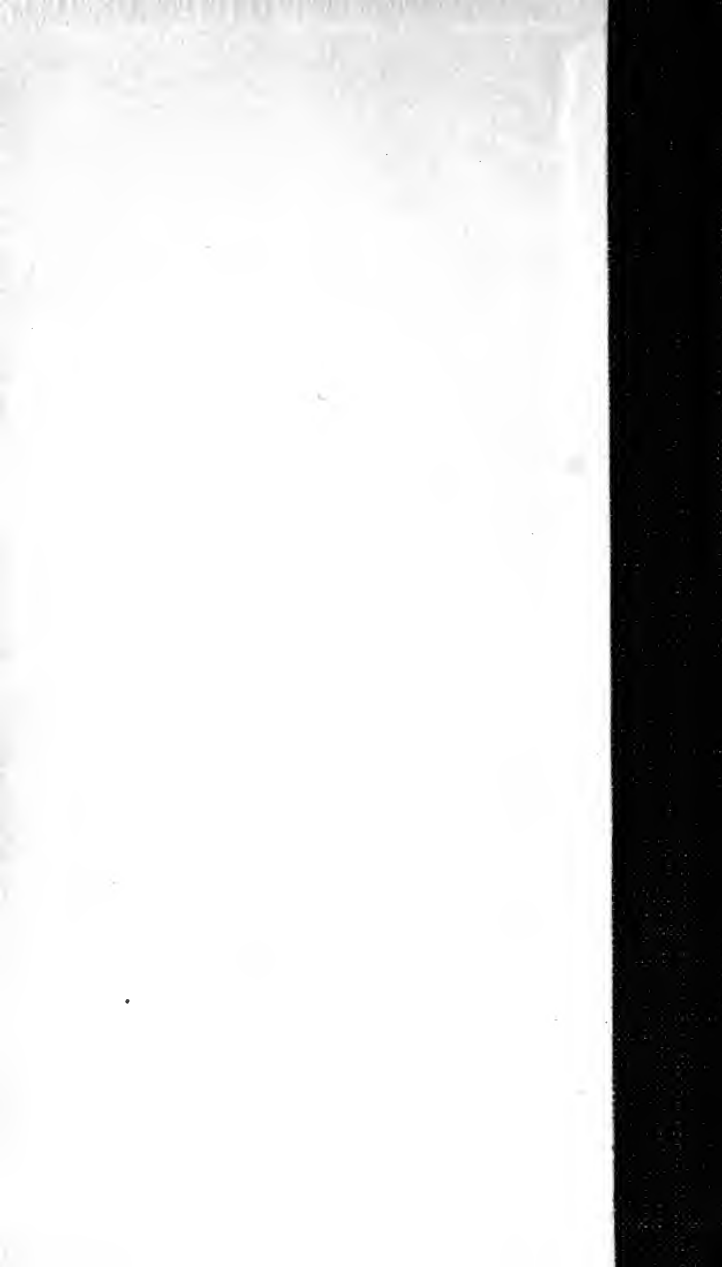




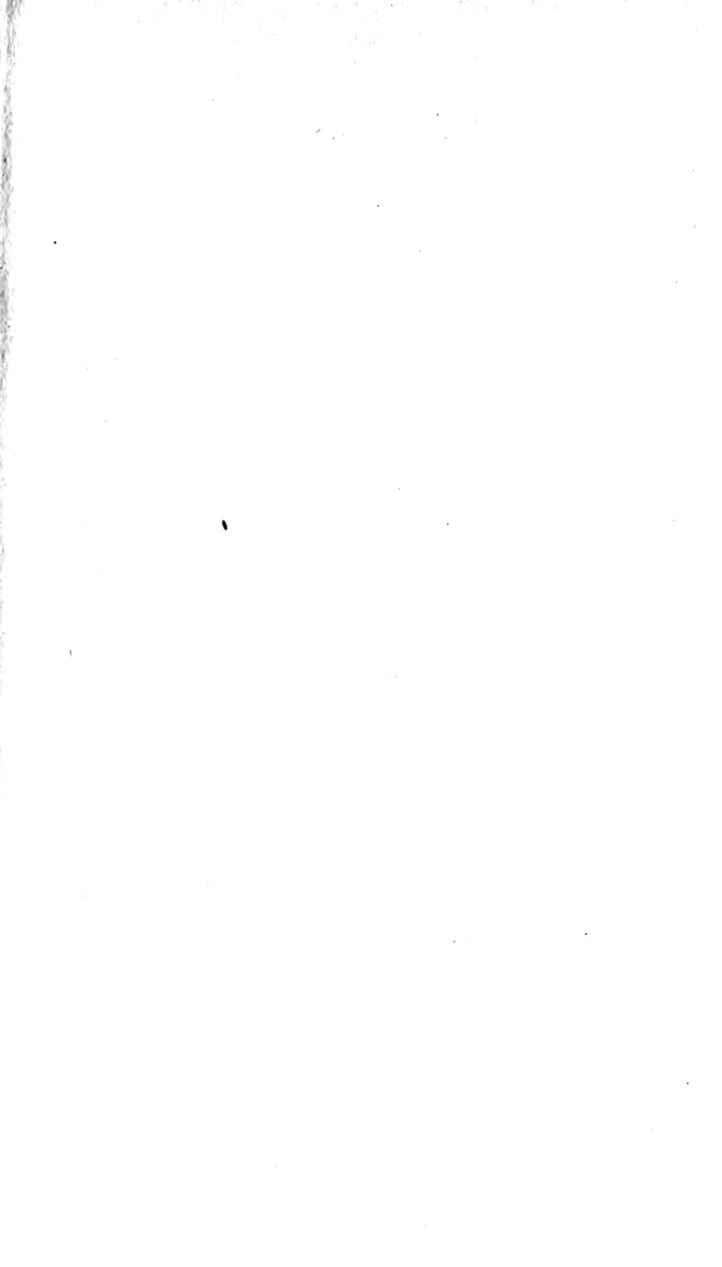
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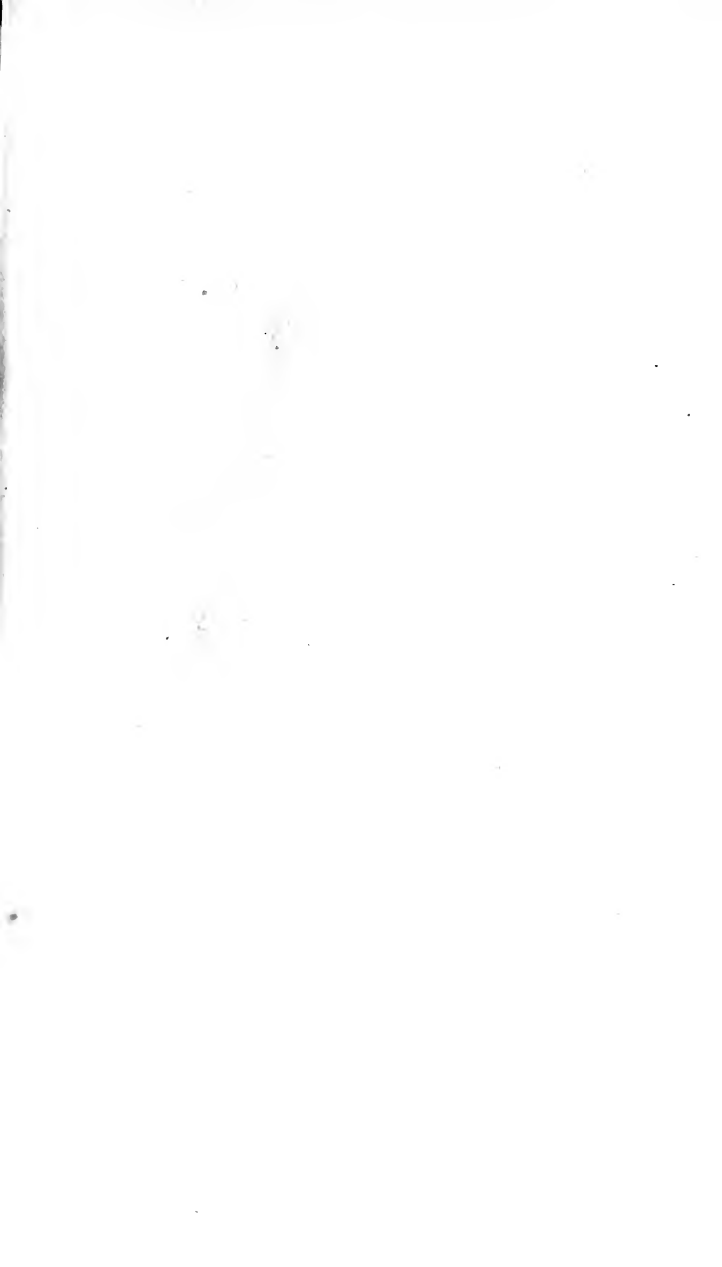


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SECOND SERIES

VOL. XV.

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LIVES

OF

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE

AND

SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

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BY FORDYCE M. HUBBARD.

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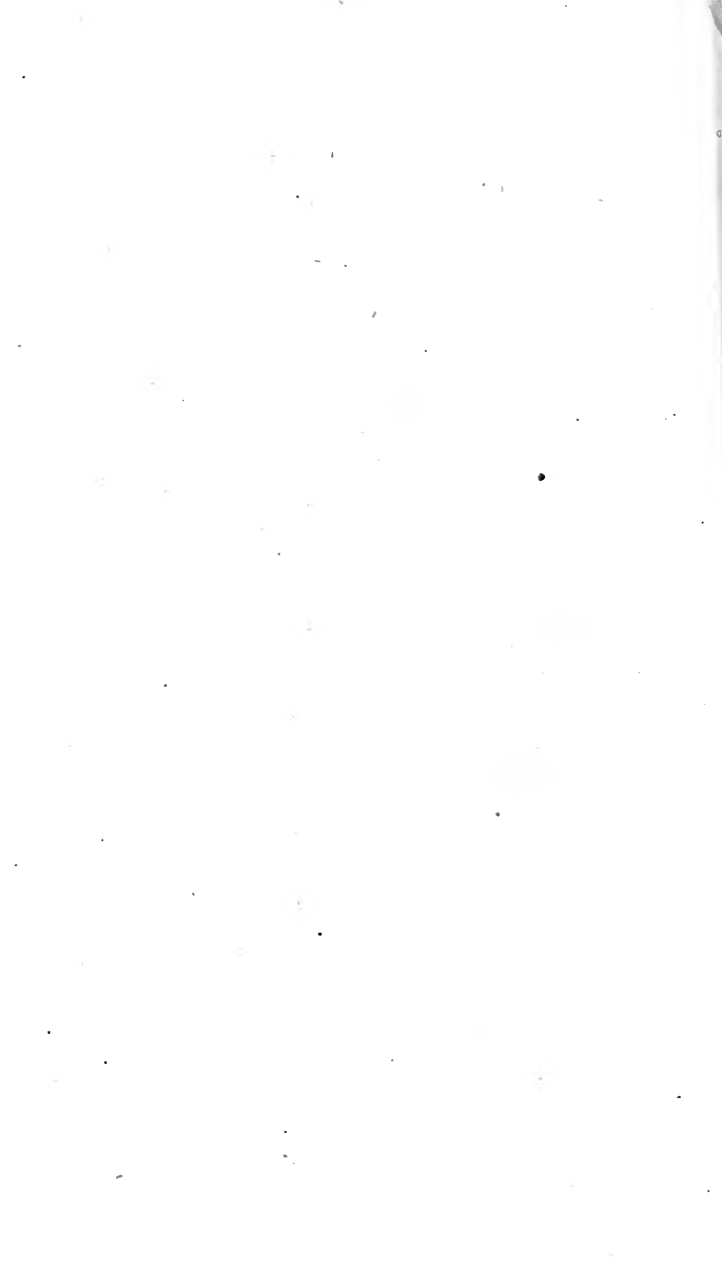
OF

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE,

GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA;

BY

FORDYCE M. HUBBARD



WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Education. — Selects the Profession of the Law. — His early Military Services. — Joins Pulaski's Legion. — Is wounded in the Action at Stono.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE was born in the village of Egremont, near Whitehaven, England, on the 20th of June, 1756. His father, Mr. Archibald Davie, brought him to America in 1763, and placed him under the care of the Reverend William Richardson, his maternal uncle. Mr. Richardson was a Presbyterian clergyman, and at that time resided in the Waxhaw settlement, on the Catawba River, in the state of South Carolina; and having no children, he adopted his nephew, who already bore his name, and who became heir to his estate.

At the usual age, young Davie was sent to an academy in Charlotte, North Carolina, where

he remained till he was fitted to enter college. He was then entered at Nassau Hall, in Princeton, New Jersey, where he proved himself a regular and successful student. The war of the revolution found him in college, and the constant discussion of public grievances and the sounds of warfare close at hand could hardly fail to disturb the quiet of his literary seclusion. The wrongs of the country were deeply felt and freely debated there; and with the consent of the President, Dr. Witherspoon, whose attachment to the American cause animated in no slight degree the patriotic ardor of the students, a party of them, of whom Davie was one, served as volunteers during the summer of 1776 in the vicinity of New York. At the close of the season he returned to the customary examinations, and was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the autumn of the same year.

Mr. Richardson having died before his return to Carolina, he was left to his own discretion in the choice of a profession. He selected the law, which was more congenial to his tastes, and which then, especially in the Southern States, gave larger promises of fortune and distinction, than any other occupation. He began his legal studies in Salisbury, North Carolina. A deep interest in the struggle for

independence, and perhaps the consciousness of military talents which might be of service to that cause, induced him to throw aside his books for a while, and join his countrymen in the field. In December, 1777, he joined a detachment of twelve hundred men, under General Jones, who had been ordered to South Carolina, to aid in the defence of Charleston, then threatened with another attack. They advanced as far as Camden; but as the alarm abated, and no news came of the enemy's fleet that was expected on the coast, they returned after a three months' service.

In 1779, Mr. Barnett, a gentleman of high standing and great personal popularity in the district of Salisbury, raised a company of dragoons, of which he was chosen captain, and Davie lieutenant. His commission, given by Governor Caswell, was dated the 5th of April. In the early part of this year, he was ordered into the back country with two hundred horse, to quell the insurgents in that region. Advancing as far as Charlotte, he learned that the anticipated rising had already been suppressed, and he returned to Salisbury. Soon after his company joined the southern army, Mr. Barnett, who was too far advanced in life to sustain the fatigues of active service, returned home, leaving Lieutenant Davie in com-

mand of the troop. His company was, at his request, attached to Pulaski's Legion, in which corps he rose to the rank of Major, and with which he continued to serve till the action at Stono.

The account of this action, and of the later ones in which he was engaged, is taken principally from manuscript sketches of them written by Davie himself. After General Lincoln, who was then in command of the southern army, had relinquished his project of attacking the capital of Georgia, he recrossed the Savannah River and pursued General Prevost by forced marches to Charleston. On the 11th of May, General Prevost appeared before that place, and on the same day Pulaski had entered it. After an ineffectual attempt to cause Moultrie to surrender the town, General Prevost immediately withdrew his forces to the Ashley Ferry.

As soon as the British General had retired to this place, Pulaski took post at Dorchester, above the ferry on the opposite side of the river, with a small part of Horry's recruits, some mounted volunteers from the neighborhood of Charleston, and a detachment of North Carolina cavalry under Lieutenant Davie, in all not exceeding one hundred men. With these troops this celebrated partisan maintained

this position, continually annoying the enemy until the arrival of the main army at Bacon's Bridge. About the same time the Legion cavalry came up, and soon after the middle of May the army had assumed a respectable appearance. The British General changed his position, and General Lincoln took possession of the ground the enemy had occupied near Ashley Ferry. Several skirmishes took place the next day between the light troops, and some prisoners were taken by our men. The British army filed off to the islands, and moved with great caution along the coast, while General Lincoln marched on their right flank. Prevost halted on John's Island, opposite Stono Ferry; and some field works were thrown up at the ferry to secure the communication with the main land. The American army encamped at Ferguson's plantation. These positions were taken in May, and the two armies remained stationary, peaceably watching each other, till the middle of June, when a project was formed for carrying the intrenched camp at Stono, which was to be supported by an attack upon the open camp of the enemy on John's Island sufficiently serious to keep the army there in check.

On the 20th of June, the time appointed for the attack, the American army presented itself

before the works at Stono at daybreak. The defences of this place consisted of three redoubts, with lines of communication in the figure of a half-moon, protected by a common abatis. Some pieces of field artillery filled the intervals, and in the redoubts were mounted carronades and some howitzers. General Prevost having gone with a part of his army to the Savannah River, the charge of this important post was committed to Colonel Maitland, with about seven hundred men. The ground in this part of the works was perfectly level, and at a small distance covered by a thick grove of pine trees. General Lincoln displayed his forces about four hundred yards from the lines of the enemy, the South Carolina brigade opposed to their right, the North Carolina brigade, under Sumner, in the centre, and Butler's brigade of militia on the enemy's left. The cavalry composed the second line, the brigade of Virginia militia, under Mason, formed the reserve, and the flanks were covered by the light troops, under Colonels Henderson and Malmedy.

This disposition being made, the army advanced in good order, extending the whole length of the enemy's front. The British reserved their fire till the Americans were within about sixty yards, when a general discharge

of musketry and artillery completely checked the assailants. The fire was instantly returned, and continued incessantly for about thirty minutes, when an effort was made to storm the works. The moment for that, however, was passed, and after a pause of a few seconds the fire again commenced on both sides. The attack was continued in this manner for an hour and twenty minutes, when the appearance of a reinforcement, and the carnage among the American troops, induced the General to order a retreat. This, of course, produced some confusion in the front line, and Colonel Maitland made a sally with his whole force. General Lincoln ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy, who were now advancing rapidly in loose order with an irregular fire. At this moment the British troops formed, and received the cavalry with so firm a countenance and a fire so well directed, that these light and ill disciplined troops were immediately dispersed. The reserve of Virginia militia was now moved forward, and commenced a heavy fire on the advance of the British troops, under cover of which the army was again formed, and a retreat effected in good order. One hundred and sixty-five of the Americans were killed or wounded, and about the same number of the enemy.

In the charge of cavalry which has been mentioned, Major Davie was wounded, and fell from his horse. Disabled as he was, he retained his hold of the bridle. While his whole troop, not waiting to meet the enemy, and dispirited by the fall of their leader, were in full retreat, a private, of another company, whose horse had been shot under him, and who was carrying off his saddle, saw the Major standing beside his horse, but unable to mount, his wound having deprived him of the use of his thigh; and though the enemy were within twenty yards, this man placed him on his horse, and deliberately led him from the field. Having brought him to a place of safety, his bold deliverer resumed his place in the ranks, and Major Davie saw no more of him, and had no opportunity to evince his gratitude for years. His wound, which was a severe one, detained him long in the hospital at Charleston, and rendered him incapable of further service during the year.

At the siege of Ninety-Six, some two years after, at which Davie was present as Commissary-General to the southern army, on the morning of the attack a stranger came to his tent and introduced himself as the man who had saved his life at Stono. The hurry of preparation for the assault allowed but a mo-

ment for recognition and thanks, and the soldier left him, promising, if he survived the dangers of the day, to visit him again. This was their last interview. The body of his humane benefactor was found among the dead, when the troops were recalled from the fruitless attempt to storm the fort.

CHAPTER II.

Licensed to practise Law. — Raises a Troop of Cavalry. — The Affair at Ramsour's Mills. — Intercepts a Convoy of Provisions. — The Attack of Rocky Mount. — The Action at Hanging Rock.

As soon as Major Davie was able to leave the hospital, he returned to Salisbury, North Carolina, where he resumed the study of the law. In September of that year, he was admitted to practise in the County Courts of the state. It is said that he received this County Court license at the special desire of the Governor, who wished to ascertain the political feelings of the people in the western settlements, and sent him to the neighborhood of

the Hölston to attend the courts, where he might most easily gain the desired information, and that during this journey it became evident to him that many of the disaffected persons, who resided in the mountains, were expecting a British officer, for whom he was at first mistaken, though they had the address not to commit themselves, or allow him to discover who was expected.

In the spring of 1780 he received his Superior Court license, which gave him entrance to all the courts of the state, and opened the way to the gratification of an ambition which he afterwards freely indulged. But his military enthusiasm had not yet abated, and his country seemed to him to demand his services in the camp more than in the court-room; and in the winter of that year he obtained authority from the legislature of North Carolina to raise a troop of cavalry, and two companies of mounted infantry. With this force, he protected the southwestern part of the state from the predatory incursions of the British troops in South Carolina, and secured the well affected from the dread of the loyalists, who were in great numbers in that region. In this service he was always on the enemy's lines, and the duties to which he was called were no less hazardous than important; and in the

practice which they gave him, he rapidly developed those qualities and acquired those habits, which soon made his name second to that of none of the famed partisan officers of the south.

The surrender of Charleston, on the 12th of May, and the defeat and butchery of Buford's detachment by Colonel Tarleton, on the 29th, completed the conquest of South Carolina. The people generally submitted, either personally or by a deputation of commissioners. But as this was well known to be the effect of panic, and the benumbing stupor consequent on such an impression, the upper county was carefully reconnoitred, the minds and principles of the inhabitants examined, and the proper places fixed upon to establish posts, that might keep the country in awe and future subjection. With these views the enemy had, by the month of June, established strong advanced posts at the Hanging Rock and Rocky Mount.* These posts were well chosen. They were capable of supporting each other, and not only covered the northern part of that state,

* The Hanging Rock is situated on the east side of the Wateree, on the road from the Waxhaws to Camden, some eighteen miles from the Waxhaws, and about twenty-four from Camden. Rocky Mount is on the west bank of the Wateree, thirty miles from Camden.

but encouraged the loyalists in North Carolina to assemble in large bodies, and to make considerable attempts to establish themselves in different parts of the country.

About this time, a Colonel Moore had collected eleven hundred of the disaffected at Ramsour's Mill, on the west side of the Catawba River, in North Carolina, not far from the present town of Lincolnton; and Colonel Bryan was at the same time secretly assembling a large body in the forks of the Yadkin. Numbers were also embodied, in smaller parties, near the South Carolina line, and, being well acquainted with the country, they carried their depredations in every direction. The militia also were everywhere in arms, but every place wanted protection.

At length about three hundred men, composed of the militia of Burke, Lincoln, and Rowan counties, assembled near Charlotte, under Colonel Francis Lock, and seven hundred under General Rutherford, including the South Carolina refugees under Colonels Sumpter, Neale, and others, and some cavalry under Major Davie. It was agreed to attack Moore's camp, at Ramsour's, as the most dangerous body of the enemy, on the 22d. For this purpose, Colonel Lock marched to cross the river at Beatie's Ford, while General Ruther-

ford also moved to cross below at Tuckasir-gee Ford. These divisions were to meet in the night near the enemy, and to attack them at break of day ; but the route of both parties was too circuitous, and the point of rendezvous too distant, to insure a punctual meeting. General Rutherford did not arrive, and Colonel Lock, who had gained his position early in the night, called a council of the officers, in which they resolved to attack the enemy, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers.

The Tories were encamped on a high ridge, clear of underwood, and covered with large oaks. Their rear was protected by a millpond, and their right flank by a strong fence. At daybreak the regiment advanced by companies. The enemy drew up behind the trees and baggage, and in a few minutes the action became general. The enemy's fire was well directed, but the militia pressed forward with great spirit and intrepidity, and in about thirty minutes the loyalists gave way on all sides. The loss of the militia in officers was peculiarly severe ; Captains Faals, Bowman, Armstrong, and Knox, and Lieutenants McKissach, Houston, and Patton were killed. A considerable number of the enemy also were killed and wounded, and they lost all their baggage.

General Rutherford arrived about an hour after the action, and despatched Major Davie with his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives, with orders to clear that part of the country of all straggling parties. Many came and surrendered voluntarily; many were taken prisoners, some while flying to South Carolina, others at their plantations; and in a few days that district of country lying between the river, the mountains, and the South Carolina line, was entirely cleared of the enemy.

The insurgents on the west side of the Catawba being entirely dispersed, General Rutherford marched to oppose, or rather follow, Colonel Bryan, who had raised eight hundred of the Tories, and was marching down the Yadkin; and Major Davie was ordered to take a position near the South Carolina line, opposite to the Hanging Rock, that might enable him to prevent the enemy from foraging on the borders of the state adjacent to the Waxhaws, and check the depredations of the loyalists, who infested that part of the country. For this purpose he chose a position on the north side of the Waxhaw Creek. He was reinforced by some South Carolinians under Major Crawford, about thirty-five warriors of the Catawba Indians, under their chief, Newriver, and a part of the Mecklenburg

militia, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Heaggins. This ground being only eighteen miles from the Hanging Rock, where the enemy were in force, skirmishes happened every day for some time; but as the British troops were generally well received, they soon became more cautious and respectful. Small detachments of cavalry were sent out to scour the country, and the Tories were all soon driven into the lines, and the enemy effectually prevented from foraging on that side.

The British, who had considered the country entirely their own, depended upon collecting their supplies from day to day. They had improvidently consumed all the provisions between that post and Camden, and were now obliged to draw their supplies from that place. To cut off these became an object of importance. With this view Major Davie left his camp, on the evening of the 20th of July, with a part of his dragoons and some volunteers, to intercept a convoy of provisions, spirits, and clothing, destined for the enemy at Hanging Rock. By marching all night, he passed the enemy's left flank, and fell into the main Camden road five miles below their post. A good position was readily found at Flat Rock, four and a half miles from Hanging Rock, where he awaited the approach of the convoy. They

appeared in the afternoon, and were surprised with little trouble. The spirits, provisions, and wagons being destroyed, the escort and wagoners were mounted on the captured horses, and about dark the party commenced its retreat.

During the march the preceding night, which was principally through the woods, one of the men had fallen back and strayed off; and, as it was supposed he would be made a prisoner in the morning, and the enemy gain information of the expedition, the guides were directed to take the most unfrequented route, to prevent the detachment from being attacked in the night. The whole country, being covered with thick woods and dangerous defiles, was peculiarly favorable to a nocturnal surprise. The advance was formed of the guides and a few mounted infantry, under the charge of Captain Petit. The prisoners were guarded by some dragoons, commanded by Colonel Polk, who acted as a volunteer, and followed the advanced guard. As it was apprehended the enemy might pursue them on their trail, the night being light and clear enough for that purpose, the remainder formed the rear guard.

Marching in this order, about two o'clock in the morning they again turned the enemy's left flank, and reached a plantation situated on

the principal branch of Beaver Creek. Captain Petit, with the advanced guard, was ordered forward to examine the houses, and a narrow lane through which the road led, and also a ford, and with express directions to secure the persons of the families. As soon as this officer reported that he had executed the order, and that all was well, the troops again moved on. The rear guard had partly entered the lane, when the officer in advance hailed the enemy concealed under the fence in a field of standing corn. On challenging a second time, he was answered by a discharge of musketry, which commenced on their right, and passed, like a running fire, towards the rear of the detachment. The Major, who had ridden forward to the advance, on the halt of the troops, repeatedly ordered the men to push through the lane; but by a mistaken instinct they turned back from the fire upon the loaded arms of the enemy. Seeing this, and deeming it his duty to bring them off, he repassed the lane under the severe fire of the ambuscade, and overtook his party retreating precipitately on the same road, by which they had advanced. The detachment was then ordered to file off to the right, and it halted upon a hill, which overlooked the plantation. Colonel Polk, with a few of the guard, had passed through

the lane, and by this means the detachment was considerably reduced; but as the enemy were plainly observed passing about unguardedly with lights, every effort was made to tranquillize the men, and induce them to return the compliment on the enemy; but their spirits and confidence were dissipated, and the ambuscade had produced all the effects of a complete surprise. All that could be done was to avoid another check by a judicious retreat.

Several of the prisoners were found to be mortally wounded, and were left on the hill. The guides as usual had fled, and the Major was obliged at first to take a general direction through the woods; but a boy, who was taken from his bed and compelled to serve as a guide, enabled him to pass the enemy's patrols, and regain his camp the next day without any further reverse of fortune. Captain Petit, Lieutenant Elliott, and two men, were killed. The fire fell principally among the prisoners, who being confined two upon a horse, and mixed with the guard, presented a larger object than a single dragoon. The advanced guard with the prisoners nearly filled the lane. Owing to these circumstances the prisoners were all killed or wounded, except three or four. The object of capturing the convoy was effected, but the ambuscade might have proved fatal to

the whole party, a danger occasioned solely by the neglect of the leader of the advanced guard faithfully to obey his orders. The indiscretion of not keeping a good look-out in such circumstances was one which Davie would never have committed, but which he could not prevent in a subordinate.

About the last of July, Colonels Sumpter and Neal, with a number of the South Carolina refugees, and Colonel Irwin with three hundred of the Mecklenburg militia, rendezvoused near Major Davie's camp. A council was immediately held by the officers to fix upon a proper object to strike at, while this volunteer force was collected. Rocky Mount and the Hanging Rock presented themselves, as not only the most important at the time, but as lying within their reach and strength; and it was finally agreed that Colonel Sumpter should march with the refugees, and the North Carolinians under Colonel Irwin, to the attack of Rocky Mount; while Major Davie made a diversion to engage the attention of the corps at the Hanging Rock. Both the detachments marched the same evening.

The defences of Rocky Mount consisted of two log-houses, calculated for defence, and a loop-holed building, the whole secured by a strong abatis. The situation was considerably

elevated and surrounded with cleared grounds. Colonel Sumpter arrived before this place early the next day. Small parties of riflemen were advanced under the cover of rocks and trees, who kept up a fire upon the houses. Several parties of this detachment marched repeatedly through the old field to the attack with great intrepidity, but were repulsed by the heavy fire of the garrison. Stratagems were employed in vain to set the buildings on fire; and having no artillery, they were at length obliged to give over the attempt to take the post. Colonel Andrew Neal lost his life in one of the attacks, near the abatis. He was an enterprising officer, and his fall was much lamented. The loss otherwise was but inconsiderable, only four or five privates being killed or wounded.

Major Davie's detachment consisted of forty mounted riflemen, and about the same number of dragoons. Considering himself obliged to alarm the enemy in their camp, at all events, the same day, he approached the Hanging Rock about ten o'clock; and, fortunately, while he was reconnoitring their position to select the point of attack, he received information that three companies of their mounted infantry, returning from some excursion, had halted at a farmer's house situated in full view of the camp. The house was placed in the point of

a right angle made by a lane of staked fence, the one end of which opened to the enemy's encampment, and the other terminated in the woods. The Major advanced toward the part next to the woods, and, as the riflemen were not distinguishable from the loyalists, they were sent round to the other end of the lane, with orders on gaining it to rush forward and fire on the enemy. The dragoons were divided, so that one half could occupy the lane, while the other half entered the field. This disposition was made with such promptitude and silence as not to excite the attention or suspicion of the enemy. The rifle company, under Captain Flenchaw, passed the camp sentries without being challenged, dismounted in the lane, and gave the enemy a well directed fire. The astonished loyalists instantly fled, and were charged by the dragoons at full gallop, and driven back in great confusion. On meeting again the fire of the infantry, they all rushed impetuously against the angle of the fence, where, in a moment, they were surrounded by the dragoons who had entered the field, and were literally cut to pieces. All this was done under the eye of the whole British camp, so that no prisoners could be safely taken. This may account for, and possibly excuse, the slaughter that took place on this occasion,

which attached to this party the appellation of the Bloody Corps. They took sixty valuable horses, with their furniture, and one hundred muskets and rifles. The whole camp beat to arms; but the business was done, and the detachment was out of their reach before they recovered from their consternation. Of course any interruption, from this quarter, of Colonel Sumpter's operations at the Rocky Mount, was effectually prevented.

On the 5th of August, these detachments met again at Land's Ford, on the Catawba. Their strength was little diminished by the attack on Rocky Mount, and Major Davie had lost no men. The North Carolina militia, under Colonel Irwin and Major Davie, numbered about five hundred effective men, officers and privates; and about three hundred remained with Colonels Sumpter, Hill, Lacy, and others. It had become of great importance to dislodge the enemy from these posts, and it was thought that, if one of them was taken, the other would be evacuated; and at a meeting of the officers it was resolved to attack the Hanging Rock the next day. As this was an open camp, they expected to be on a more equal footing with the enemy; and the men, whose approbation of any intended movement was in those days absolutely necessary, on being informed

of the result of the deliberations of their officers, entered into the project with great spirit and cheerfulness.

The troops marched in the evening, and about midnight halted within two miles of the enemy's camp; and a council of war was called to decide on the mode of attack. Accurate information had been obtained of the enemy's situation, who were pretty strongly posted in three different encampments. The British regulars, commanded by Major Carden, were encamped on the right; a part of the British Legion, about one hundred and sixty in number, with Hamilton's regiment, at some houses in the centre; and Bryan's regiment of North Carolinians, with the other loyalists, numbering about nine hundred, at some distance on the left, and separated from the centre camp by a skirt of woods. The position of the regular troops could not be approached without an entire exposure of the assailants; and a creek with a deep ravine covered the whole front of the Tory camp.

Colonel Sumpter proposed that the detachment should be separated into three divisions and march directly to the centre encampment, there dismount, and each division attack its camp. This plan was approved by all the officers except Major Davie, who insisted on

the necessity of leaving the horses at the place they then occupied, and marching to the attack on foot; urging, in support of his opinion, the confusion always consequent on dismounting under a fire, and the certainty of losing the effect of a sudden and vigorous attack. His objection was, however, overruled. The divisions were soon settled, and as the day broke the march commenced.

The general command was conferred on Colonel Sumpter, as the senior officer; Major Davie led the column on the right, consisting of his own corps and some volunteers, Major Wynn's regiment, and some detached companies of South Carolina refugees; Colonel Hill commanded the left, composed of South Carolina refugees; and Colonel Irwin the centre, formed entirely of the Mecklenburg militia. The whole force turned to the left of the road, to avoid the enemy's picket and patrol, with the intention to return to it under the shelter of a defile near the camp; but the guides, through ignorance or timidity, led them so far to the left, that the right and centre divisions, together with the left, fell upon the Tory encampment. These devoted people were briskly attacked both in front and flank, and soon routed with great slaughter.

As the Americans pressed on in pursuit of

the Tories, who fled towards the centre encampment, they received the fire of the body of the Legion infantry, and some companies of Hamilton's regiment, who were posted behind a fence. But their impetuosity was not checked a moment by this unexpected discharge, and as they continued to move forward, the Legion infantry immediately broke and mingled in the flight of the loyalists, yielding their camp without another struggle to the militia.

At this moment a part of Colonel Brown's regiment had nearly changed the fate of the day. They passed, by a bold and skilful manœuvre, into the wood between the centre and Tory encampments, drew up unperceived, and poured a heavy fire on the militia, as they were forming from the disorder of the pursuit, on the flank of the encampment. These brave men took instinctively to the trees and brush huts, and returned the fire with deadly effect. In a few minutes there was not a British officer standing; one half of the regiment had fallen, and the rest, on quarters being offered, threw down their arms. The remainder of the British line, which had also made a movement to their right, now retreated hastily towards their former position, and drew up in the centre of the cleared grounds, in the form of a hollow square.

The rout of three different corps, the pursuit, and the plundering of the camps, had thrown the Americans into great confusion. The utmost exertions were made by Colonel Sumpter and the other officers to induce the men to attack the British square. About two hundred infantry, with Davie's dragoons, were collected and formed on the margin of the woods, and a heavy but ineffectual fire was commenced on the British troops. Meanwhile, some three or four hundred of the enemy, consisting of the Legion infantry and Hamilton's regiment, with a large body of the Tories, were observed rallying and forming on the edge of the woods on the opposite side of the British camp; and, lest they might take the Americans in flank, Major Davie passed round the camp, under cover of the trees, and charged them with his dragoons. They were already dispirited under the impression of defeat, and were all routed and dispersed in a few minutes by this handful of men.

The distance of the square from the woods, and the constant fire of two pieces of field-artillery, prevented the militia from making any considerable impression on the British troops; so that, upon Major Davie's return, it was agreed to plunder the encampments and retire. As this party was returning towards the centre

encampment, some of the Legion cavalry appeared drawn up on the Camden road, with a countenance as if they meant to keep their position; but on being charged by Davie's dragoons, they all took to the woods in flight, and one only was cut down. A retreat was by this time absolutely necessary. The commissary stores were taken in the centre camp, and numbers of the men were already intoxicated. The greater part were loaded with plunder, and those in a condition to fight had exhausted their ammunition. About an hour was employed in plundering the camp, taking the paroles of the British officers, and preparing litters for the wounded. All this was done in full view of the British army, who, in the mean time, consoled themselves with some military music, and an interlude of three cheers for King George, which was immediately answered by three cheers for the hero of American liberty. The militia, at length, got into the line of march in three columns, Davie's corps covering the rear; but as they were loaded with plunder, encumbered with their wounded friends, and many of them intoxicated, it is easy to conceive that their retreat could not be conducted according to the rules of the most approved tactics. Under all these disadvantages, however, they filed off unmolested along the front of the enemy's line about one o'clock.

The American loss in this engagement was never accurately ascertained, owing to the want of proper returns, and the fact that many of the wounded were carried immediately home from the scene of action. Captain Reed, of North Carolina, and Captain M'Clure, of South Carolina, were killed. Colonel Hill and Major Wynn, of South Carolina, and Captain Craighead, Lieutenant Flenchaw, and Ensign M'Clure, of North Carolina, were among the wounded. Major Davie's corps suffered severely. The British lost three officers of the line. Several of the loyalists and a large number of privates were killed and wounded.

It is a trait in the character of militia, almost always observable, that they will obey only their own officers in the time of action; and this battle would probably have been far more decisive, had not the militia fallen into confusion in the pursuit of the loyalists and Legion infantry, by which the different regiments and companies became mixed and confounded. If the divisions of the army had disencumbered themselves of their horses, and moved in such a manner as to engage the encampments separately, at the same time, a vigorous and unexpected attack might have prevented the British from availing themselves of their superior discipline, the other encampments

must have been soon carried, and the several corps would have remained distinct, and in a condition to push any advantage that Davie's column might have gained over the British line.

The wounded, who had no home in the vicinity of the place of this action, were numerous, and their proper treatment demanded immediate care. They were intrusted to the convoy of Major Davie's troop, and conveyed by him to Charlotte, in North Carolina, where through his foresight a hospital had been already established. Leaving them in safety and repose, he hastened to the general rendezvous of Gates's army at Rugely's Mills.

CHAPTER III.

The Retreat from Camden. — Defeat of Sumpter. — The Surprise at Wahab's. — Lord Cornwallis advances into North Carolina. — The Action at Charlotte. — Retreat of the British Army to South Carolina.

ON the 16th of August the southern army under General Gates, which Major Davie was

hastening to join, met Lord Cornwallis at Camden, and experienced a most disastrous defeat. The hopes of the Southern States rested on the success of this force. Their confidence in the General who commanded it was almost without bounds, inspired by his high reputation and recent brilliant success at Saratoga; and when the army, which had shared the common enthusiasm, found that they had lost the field, the overthrow became a flight. As no provision had been made for a place of refuge and rendezvous, officers and soldiers seemed to vie with each other in the speed of their efforts to reach a place of safety; and it is yet a disputed question, whether the General himself, in a rapid retreat for more than two hundred miles from the presence of the enemy, was influenced more by distrust and the universal panic, than by a wish promptly to concert measures for the future with the legislature of North Carolina.

On the day of that fatal engagement, Major Davie was on his way towards Camden; and about ten miles from the field of battle he met a soldier flying at full speed. The Major's first impulse was to arrest him as a deserter. After he had with some difficulty been stopped and charged with his supposed crime, he announced the entire rout of the Americans, and

declared that, if he had deserted, he had done so along with the General and the whole army. In a few moments other fugitives, singly and in straggling bands, came up to confirm the statement. General Gates soon after met him, accompanied by his staff and many of the officers. General Gates desired Major Davie to fall back as fast as possible to Charlotte, for the British dragoons were not far in their rear. To this Major Davie replied, that his troops were accustomed to Tarleton's Legion, and that he did not fear the result with any thing like equal numbers. The General then passed on. General Huger, of South Carolina, who had been with him, stopped, and being asked by Major Davie how far it would be necessary for him to obey the directions of the General-in-chief, answered, "Just as far as you choose; for you will never see him again." The Major then despatched a gentleman after General Gates to say to him that, if he wished it, he would go down and bury the dead; to which he answered, "I say, retreat; and let the dead bury their dead."

The Major continued his course towards the battle ground, meeting at almost every turn of the road the flying fragments of the routed army. He secured several wagons loaded with clothing and medicines, which had been aban-

done by their drivers and guards, who had unharnessed the horses and used them to hasten their own escape. He proceeded so far down as to ascertain that the British dragoons had pursued the fugitives but a short distance, and that those whom he had met had fled from fear more than from danger. Finding himself now in the rear of the retreating troops, where his presence could be of no use, he turned to retrace his steps towards Charlotte. On the morning of the 17th, he passed Major Anderson, the only man who appears not to have been affected by the panic of the day, about forty miles above Camden. He was attended by a corporal and eight men, and was eating his breakfast with great composure on the road side, having had the good fortune to fall in with his own baggage wagon.

About an hour after General Gates had passed him, Major Davie despatched a confidential officer to Colonel Sumpter, to give him information of the misfortunes of the morning. The messenger reached his camp the same evening, and Colonel Sumpter, with his detachment, began to retreat along the west bank of the Catawba towards the upper country. He had now under his command one hundred regular infantry, a company of artillery with two brass pieces, and seven hundred

militia, the largest military force then in one body in Carolina, and to which the thoughts and hopes of all were immediately turned.

On the night of the 17th, he encamped at Rocky Mount, and remained there through the night, though he was informed that the British Legion were on the opposite bank of the river, and had already taken possession of the boats and the ford. The next day he advanced only eight miles, and took a position on an open ridge on the north bank of Fishing Creek. Here, when his troops had stacked their arms, and some of them had gone to the river to bathe, and some strolled off to a neighboring plantation, and others were asleep, Colonel Tarleton made a bold and most unexpected charge. The artillery and arms of the Continentals were at once in possession of the enemy, and the sleepers, as they rose, were cut down almost without resistance. All that could escape sought their safety in immediate flight. The loss of the Americans was very great, both in men and stores; and the terror, which the defeat of Gates had universally inspired, was made more despairing by the intelligence of the surprise of Sumpter. The men who escaped spread the alarm in every direction of their flight. Colonel Sumpter himself, who was asleep under a wagon when the action com-

menced, fortunately was able to save himself amid the general confusion, and reached Major Davie's camp at Charlotte two days after, unattended by officer, soldier, or servant, riding on horseback without hat or saddle.

About nine o'clock on the 19th, the news of the dispersion of Sumpter's detachment was received at Charlotte, accompanied with reports of the approach of the British cavalry. Many officers of General Gates's army had halted there, who now determined precipitately upon retreating to Salisbury. Davie assured them that his patrols were several miles down the road, and that the British horse could not be within many miles. He entreated them to remain, urging the confidence their presence would give to the militia of the neighborhood, and the evil consequences of retiring. All this, however, was to no purpose. In a few minutes none of them was left with him but Generals Gist and Smallwood. They also soon left him, requesting him to go down the road and endeavor to save Major Anderson. He immediately set out, and in a few miles met Anderson, whose party had increased to fifteen or twenty. He passed Anderson, who, naturally, could not refrain from expressing his surprise and indignation at the needless retreat of the rest, and promised to remain at Charlotte until

Davie's return. He continued his march, and examined the country below the Waxhaws, and found that the enemy had all fallen back to Camden. On his return to Charlotte, he found Major Anderson there, and at Davie's instance he wrote to General Smallwood for leave to remain at that place.

After the defeat of Gates and of Sumpter, Lord Cornwallis drew his forces to Camden, where he remained till the first week in September, to refresh his troops and collect materials for a campaign in North Carolina. About the 8th he moved, with the whole of the British army, to the Waxhaws, and took possession of the camp which had been occupied by Major Davie during the months of June and July. The camp was situated about forty miles below Charlotte, and directly on the North Carolina line. The country in the neighborhood contained many rich farms, but it had been for nine months the scene of continual warfare and devastation, and the crops were neglected or destroyed, and many of the plantations were entirely deserted. Sumpter's defeat was attended with the capture or slaughter of a large part of the inhabitants of this populous settlement, so that an army could not be supported there without foraging to a considerable distance; but Lord Cornwallis was not yet ready

to enter North Carolina ; and he had ample reason, in his recent successes, to expect that his foraging parties would meet with little interruption in collecting supplies.

South Carolina appeared now entirely subjugated, and her northern neighbor had not recovered from the shock and stupor occasioned by the dispersion of General Gates's army. The scattered fragments of that army were now slowly collecting at Hillsboro, near two hundred miles distant ; and few remained in the vicinity of the enemy who had the boldness to prepare for a present resistance. Davie, who had been appointed, on the 5th of September, by Governor Nash, Colonel-Commandant of the cavalry in the western district of North Carolina, with instructions to raise a regiment, had then collected only about seventy men. With this scanty force, however, and two small companies of riflemen, commanded by Major George Davidson, he took post at Providence, twenty-five miles above the British camp.

The camp of Lord Cornwallis extended along the north side of the Waxhaw Creek ; and the seventy-first regiment was posted in the rear, about half a mile on the south side, in a parallel line. The Catawba River in some measure covered their left flank, and the loyalists and light troops were encamped on their right

These irregulars had already begun to make incursions into the neighboring country, and spread havoc and destruction through every region they traversed. Colonel Davie, having procured information of their situation and movements, formed a design to attack them. For this purpose, on the 20th of September, he marched with his own corps and Major Davidson's riflemen, making together only about one hundred and fifty men, with an intention to fall on their quarters in the night, and hoping by the suddenness of his attack to check, if not entirely to disperse these lawless marauders. After taking a considerable circuit to avoid the patrols of the enemy, about two o'clock in the morning he turned Lord Cornwallis's right flank, and approached a plantation where the Tories were said to be encamped; but, on examining the ground, it was found they had changed their position a few days before.

Two other places were reconnoitred in consequence of advice received in the night from terrified or disaffected persons. At last certain information was obtained, that they had retired within the flanks of the British army, to the plantation of a Captain Wahab, which was overlooked by the camp of the seventy-first regiment; and that they might amount to three or four hundred mounted infantry. Colonel

Davie, unwilling to lose his object, reached Wahab's as the sun was rising. The moment was a fortunate one. The enemy's party were in the confusion which always accompanies the preparation for an early march; their sentries were all called in, and about sixty of them, with a part of the British Legion, were already mounted near the house, which stood about the middle of a lane, covered on the same side by a cornfield, cultivated to the very door. A company of infantry was sent through the corn, with orders to take possession of the houses, and immediately to fire on the enemy; the cavalry were sent round the cornfield, with directions to gain the other end of the lane, and charge the foe as soon as the firing was commenced at the houses; while the Colonel advanced to receive them with about forty riflemen. The houses were briskly attacked, and the cavalry charged at the same moment. The enemy, being completely surprised, had no time to form, and crowded in great disorder to the other end of the lane, where a well reserved fire from the riflemen drove them back upon the cavalry and infantry, who were now drawn up at the houses, and by whom they were instantly attacked. Thus pushed vigorously on all sides, they fluctuated some moments under the impression of terror,

and then bore down the fences, and fled at full speed.

The Colonel's situation was too hazardous to allow him to waste time in pursuit; he ordered the horses and arms to be collected, and in a few minutes the infantry were all mounted, and the remaining horses secured. The seventy-first regiment had beat to arms in the beginning of the action, and, upon finding that an onset and surprise were the only object of their enemy, moved briskly to attack the detachment; but as they entered one end of the lane, the Americans were marching out of the other in good order. The British left fifteen or twenty dead on the field, and had about forty wounded. They were surprised, found off their guard, and made no resistance, so that only one man of the Americans was wounded, and that by a mistake; for being unwarily separated in the pursuit, and having no regimentals, he was not distinguishable from the enemy.

The British commanding officer, out of pique, or a mistaken and cruel policy, immediately ordered the improvements of the plantation to be set on fire, and the houses, barns, and fences, were all laid in ashes, although there were three families of women and children living there, who had no other home. The proprie-

tor, Captain Wahab, was a volunteer with Colonel Davie, and had been for some time exiled from his family. His wife and children were unavoidably in the midst of the action. They had gathered round him in tears of joy and distraction; the enemy advanced, and he could only embrace them; and in a few minutes after, turning his eyes back towards his all, as the detachment moved off, he had the pain to see their only hope of subsistence wrapped in flames. This barbarous practice was uniformly adhered to by the British officers in the Southern States. However casual the encounter might be, when it happened at a plantation, their remaining in possession of the ground was always marked by committing the houses to the flames.

The Colonel, expecting to attack the enemy in the night, had given orders to take no prisoners. These orders, in the hurry of the morning, were not revoked. This may well account for the fact that no prisoners were taken. The British quarters, also, were near, and the danger of pursuit was great. He brought off ninety-six horses, with their furniture, and one hundred and twenty stands of arms, and arrived at his camp the same afternoon, having marched sixty miles in less than twenty-four hours, notwithstanding the time employed in seeking and

beating the enemy. Generals Sumner and Davidson had arrived that day at his camp, with their brigades of militia; both of which, however, did not amount to one thousand men, all on short enlistments, badly armed, and diminishing in numbers every day. These, with Davie's corps, constituted the whole assembled force at that time opposed to the enemy in Carolina.

As the Waxhaws had been taxed with the supplies and exposed to the depredations of both parties, it was impossible for the British army to remain long in that position; and his Lordship's plan of operations, which was to carry the war into North Carolina, would not suffer him to continue there inactive. On the 24th of September, the American patrols gave information that the forces of the enemy were in motion on the Steele Creek road, leading to Charlotte. Generals Sumner and Davidson immediately retreated by Phifer's, the nearest route to Salisbury, leaving Charlotte considerably to the left. Colonel Davie with one hundred and fifty men, consisting of mounted infantry and dragoons, with some volunteers under Major Graham, was ordered to attend the enemy's motions, and skirmish with his advanced parties. Obeying these orders, he hovered round the British army, and on the even-

ing and night of the 25th took a number of prisoners, and about midnight took up his position at Charlotte, seven miles from the place where Earl Cornwallis had encamped. Early in the morning of the 26th, the Colonel's patrols were driven in by the enemy's light troops, and in a few minutes the Legion and light infantry were seen advancing towards the town, followed by the whole army.

The village of Charlotte, situated on a rising ground, contained about twenty houses, built on two streets which crossed each other at right angles, and at the intersection of which stood the Court House. The left of the town, as the enemy came up, was an open common; the right was covered with underwood, which reached up to the gardens. The Colonel was reinforced in the night by fourteen volunteers under the command of Major Graham; and encouraged by so slight an addition to his force, and relying on the firmness of the militia, he was determined to give his Lordship an earnest of what he might expect in North Carolina. For this purpose he dismounted one company and stationed them under the Court House, where they were covered breast high by a stone wall. The two other companies were advanced about eighty yards, and posted behind some houses and gardens, on each side of the street.

While this disposition was making, the Legion was forming at the distance of three hundred yards, with a front to fill the street, and the light infantry on their flanks. On sounding the charge, the enemy's cavalry advanced in full gallop, and when they were within sixty yards of the Court House, the Americans received orders to fire. The fire was given with such effect, that they retreated with great precipitation. As the light infantry behaved with more resolution, and were pressing forward on the American right flank, notwithstanding a warm fire from the volunteers, who were too few to keep them in check, it became necessary to withdraw the two advanced companies, and they were formed in a line with those at the Court House. The flanks were hotly engaged with the infantry, but the centre were directed to reserve their fire for the cavalry, who had rallied on their former ground, and were returning to the charge. They were again well received by the militia, and galloped off in the utmost confusion, in the presence of the whole British army.

The Legion infantry were now beginning to turn the Colonel's right flank, and the companies were drawn off in good order, successively covering each other, and formed in a single line at the end of the street, about one

hundred yards from the Court House, under a galling fire all the while from the British light infantry, who advanced under the cover of the houses and gardens. Their cavalry soon appeared again, charging in column by the Court House; but on receiving a fire reserved for them by a part of the militia, they wheeled off behind the houses. Lord Cornwallis, vexed to see his troops thus kept at bay, ordered up a reinforcement, and the Legion infantry, thus strengthened, pressed forward rapidly on both the American flanks; and the ground being no longer tenable by this handful of brave men, a retreat was ordered by the Salisbury road. The enemy followed with great caution and respect for some miles, when they at length ventured to charge the rear guard. The guard were of course put to flight; but on receiving a fire from a single company, the cavalry again retreated. The loss of the Americans consisted of Lieutenant Lock and four privates killed; Major Graham and five privates wounded. The British stated their loss at twelve non-commissioned officers killed and wounded; Major Hanger, and Captains Campbell and McDonald wounded, with about thirty privates.

This action, though it subjects Colonel Davie to the charge of temerity, and can be excused

only by the event, and by its exhibition of that zeal which we are always ready to applaud, furnishes a very striking instance of the bravery and the importance of the American militia. Few examples can be shown of any troops, who in one action changed their position twice in good order, although pressed by a much superior body of infantry, and charged three times by thrice their number of cavalry, unsupported, and in the presence of the enemy's whole army, and finally retreating in perfect order. The British, chagrined at this spirited resistance, and repeated repulse, by a detachment of militia, loudly reproached the Legion with pusillanimity; and they excused themselves by saying, that the confidence with which the Americans acted induced them to apprehend an ambuscade,* though surely no manœuvre of that kind could have been seriously expected, in an open village, and in open day.

The next day Colonel Davie joined the army in Salisbury, where the officers who had received commissions to recruit had assembled with the men they had raised. Colonel Taylor's regiment, from Granville, also passed under his command, so that his corps now consisted

* Tarleton's *Campaigns*, p. 162 McKenzie's *Strictures*, p. 47.

of nearly three hundred mounted infantry, with a few dragoons. Generals Sumner and Davidson continued their retreat beyond the Yadkin and Colonel Davie returned toward Charlotte. As his force was insufficient to make any impression on the enemy in their camp, all that could be done was, if possible, to confine them to the town, by attacking their foraging parties, and to distress them by cutting off their supplies. With this plan of operations, positions were chosen within fifteen or twenty miles, and parties sent out on all sides to watch and harass the enemy. Colonel Davie was confined by express orders to remain always with the principal body, in the direction between Salisbury and Charlotte, and by no means to risk a general engagement of his force. These orders limited his operations, but much was done by his perfect knowledge of the country, and the daring bravery of the militia under his command. No party of the enemy ventured out without being attacked, and few of them returned without considerable loss. The people of the neighboring country were strongly attached to the American cause, and gave Lord Cornwallis no assistance; and all information was cut off by the vigilance and activity of the militia cavalry.

However strange it may appear, his Lordship

began to feel great distress, under this species of blockade, for want of provisions, forage, and all the necessary supplies of an army.* While he was here, also, the news of the disastrous defeat of Colonel Ferguson at King's Mountain reached him; and this utter loss of a large force, on whose coöperation he had confidently relied, together with the inconveniences of his own position, determined him to relinquish the conquest of North Carolina for that campaign. Accordingly, on the night of the 14th of October, he began his retreat to South Carolina. The night was cloudy, Lord Cornwallis was speedily deserted by his guides, and fell into a succession of difficulties which would have given great advantage to an enemy strong enough to attack him. Indeed, the whole manner of the movement impressed the people of the town with the belief that it was made with alarm, as well as haste. The troops left their kettles over the fire, and a detachment which accompanied a portion of the baggage, when fired on, some five miles from the village, by a small party of the militia out on patrol, fled at once, and left in the hands of their enemies twenty wagons loaded with valuable articles, and containing a large part of the bag-

* Tarleton's *Campaigns*, p. 164

gage of the seventy-first regiment and Legion infantry.

Colonel Davie was at some distance from Charlotte when the British army began its march. General Davidson had joined him the day before with forty men, and they were busied in concerting measures to collect the militia on that side of the Yadkin. Early in the afternoon which followed the enemy's departure from Charlotte, intelligence of that event was brought to him, and he instantly marched with all the cavalry except two troops, to watch and annoy the retiring army. Lord Cornwallis had intended to cross the Catawba at the Old Nation Ford, but a sudden swell of the river compelled him to halt there. After remaining two days, in a miserable situation without supplies, surrounded by the militia cavalry, who prevented all foraging, he marched precipitately down the river, followed by the detachment of cavalry under Colonel Davie, who continued skirmishing with his rear; and on the 19th he completely evacuated the state of North Carolina, and crossed the Catawba at Land's Ford.

CHAPTER IV.

Plan for raising a Legion. — Commissary-General to the Southern Army, and to the State of North Carolina. — Accompanies the March of the Army. — Returns from Ninety-Six.

THE return of the British army to South Carolina, while at first it checked any active exertions, and even the assembling of the Whigs in that quarter, renewed the spirits of their compatriots in North Carolina, and made the collection of a respectable force more easy. The men, as they were enlisted, were marched to Providence, the head-quarters of General Smallwood, and at a convenient distance from Winnsboro, which had been occupied by Lord Cornwallis. There was manifested an unusual alacrity in assembling, and in a few weeks there were about a thousand militia under Generals Davidson and Sumner; and nine hundred men under General Jones, with Morgan's detachment and others, had joined the camp at Providence. Colonel Davie, with three hundred mounted infantry, occupied an advanced post at Land's Ford, in South Carolina.

About the middle of November, the term of service of the militia light troops, whom he

had led, having expired, Colonel Davie was left in the field without any command. Worn down with fatigue and continual duty, and anxious for at least a temporary respite, he retired to Salisbury. As the new levies consisted almost entirely of militia, and as, from his experience of the great inconveniences of their habits and peculiar organization, he was not desirous to remain at the head of such a corps, he expected to leave the service altogether. But General Smallwood, who entertained a high sense of his military skill, was anxious to retain him in the army, and promised that, if a regiment of light-horse could be raised, two hundred riflemen and three hundred light infantry should also be put under his command, to act in conjunction with them. This proposal fell in with a favorite scheme of Colonel Davie who had long desired to have the separate charge of a kind of Legion, which would enable him to render larger and more effectual service, than he had done with a smaller and badly arranged troop. The light-horse, composed mainly of undisciplined men, and in the field for only a short period, were found extremely useful in annoying the enemy, cutting off their foraging parties, surprising their outposts, intercepting their convoys, hovering around their line, firing on their guards, and

the like purposes ; but he had learned also that, to render them most effective, a corps of light infantry should be joined with them, to secure their retreat, lay ambuscades, and especially, in swamps and defiles, to protect and cover all their movements.

On this suggestion of General Smallwood, Colonel Davie, on the 23d of November, sent Captain Mountflorece, who had been his Brigade-Major during the campaign, to confer on this subject with the Board of War, then sitting at Halifax, and to inform them how he would have the force organized of which alone he would wish to take the command.* He de-

* The Board of War was constituted by the legislature of North Carolina, in September, 1780. The powers which belonged to the Governor as Commander-in-chief were given to them, and the Governor was made the mere executive of their decisions. A controversy touching their respective rights led to the resignation of Governor Nash ; and the Board itself, being soon found inefficient and inconvenient, was dissolved. It was composed of Alexander Martin, John Penn, and Oroondates Davis, the last of whom seems to have managed the most of their business. None of them had much military experience ; and there may have been some truth, as well as pique or resentment, in Davie's criticism on them. " Nothing could be more ridiculous than the manner in which this Board was filled ; Martin, being a warrior of great fame, was placed at the head ; Penn, who was fit only to amuse children, and O. Davis, who knew nothing but the game of whist, composed the rest of the Board."

sired them to order out six troops of horse, numbering in all two hundred and ten men, exclusive of officers, choosing so small a number on account of the scarcity of both horses and forage. The Board of War, owing to the exhausted state of the country, though anxious to do so, found a difficulty in complying with his wishes, and early in December referred the matter to Governor Nash. The reply of the Governor has been lost. Probably no decision was made, as another application was speedily presented for his services in another quarter.

Soon after General Greene took the command of the southern army, Colonel Thomas Polk, who had acted as commissary to the army, and the situation of whose family now demanded his presence with them, resigned his post. The subsistence of the army had already become very difficult, a sufficiency for the supply from day to day being procured with much labor, and the prospect, of course, growing less and less promising. Colonel Polk declared there was not enough in the whole country around the army to support it for a single week. In this state of things, it was impossible to carry on offensive operations even on the scale of partisan warfare, much less with the whole of the army. General Greene was anxious to move near the enemy, but his wish was opposed

by his own judgment and that of every officer of rank under his command. So long as no permanent arrangements were made to provide regularly and certainly for the wants of the troops, the army was left in a great measure to subsist itself; and in the vicinity of a hostile force, to detach one half of his men in search of provisions would have been to expose the whole to great danger. His troops were too few to admit of any division.

He immediately represented to the Board of War the necessity of a judicious and permanent organization of the commissary department, and of selecting a man of resources and activity to preside over it. The General and the Board had a common interest in the choice of a proper commissary, the Board desiring one whom the people as well as themselves were willing to confide in, and the General demanding one whose attachment to the cause of independence, secrecy, and discretion should be unquestionable, and who could safely be intrusted with his intentions for some time before any movement should be made. General Greene, having already formed a high estimate of the abilities of Colonel Davie, earnestly and in the most flattering terms solicited him to relinquish his hopes of brilliant service in the field, and accept the vacant office; not only offering him

the appointment of Commissary-General to the southern army, but also promising his efforts to procure for him, from the authorities of North and South Carolina, the same office in both of those states.

On the 18th of December the General wrote to the Board of War, expressing his wish that Colonel Davie might be acceptable to them, and added, "He will not engage unless his powers are ample; for he is not willing to hazard his reputation without a fair prospect of succeeding. His ambition, popularity, good sense, and activity, give great reason to hope he will execute the business to our satisfaction, so far as the poverty of the public and the wretched state of our finances shall put it in his power. He must be authorized to remove all commissioners of districts or counties, who are negligent or remiss in their duty, and to impress provisions and supplies on emergencies. Nothing short of this will enable him to give such assurances to the commanding officer, as he can depend upon with safety to himself and security to the country." The Board of War were doubtful of their authority to create such an office, with the powers demanded for it, without some previous action of the legislature, and complied with the request of General Greene so far only as to appoint Colonel Davie

superintendent of provisions in Salisbury district, with power to call on any superintendent for supplies while the army should be in that vicinity. This was on the 5th of January, 1781. They seem, however, to have soon changed their views of their authority; for on the 16th of the same month, although the Assembly did not meet till the 26th, they fully commissioned him as "Superintendent-Commissary-General of provision supplies for the state of North Carolina."

The duties to which he was called under his new commission, while they were of vital importance even to the existence of the army, were of a kind extremely vexatious and annoying to him. He had left a sphere of action much more congenial to his tastes, and where shining achievements might be performed, for a service filled with petty details and drudgery, and in which the most complete success could hardly attract the commendation it would merit, while a partial and unavoidable failure would expose him to general censure. Instead of leading his troop to battle and indulging his passion for partisan adventure, he was to become a purveyor of beef and bacon, an inspector of invoices, a contractor for salt and tobacco. He was too much above the influence of mere personal considerations to refuse the irk-

some duty, where the necessities of the army and of his country called him to it; and bidding adieu, not without regret, to his hopes of military distinction, he speedily immersed himself in estimating the resources of counties, gathering herds of swine, and bargaining for barrels of rum; and showed himself as punctual and diligent in the minute operations of his new department, as he had been skilful in planning a surprise, and brave on the field of battle.

When Colonel Davie received his orders from the Board of War, he received also Governor Nash's warrants on the treasury of the state for one hundred thousand pounds, in sums of ten thousand pounds each. He was detained for some time in endeavoring to negotiate them into money, and still several weeks longer to concert with the legislature and the authorities of the state the scheme and arrangements of his new official operations. They were disposed to render him all the aid in their power, and gave their sanction to a plan which he submitted to them for establishing magazines, determining the ratio of supplies, appointing subordinate officers, numbering wagons, and all the prospective details of his department.

The system of supplies thus agreed on was put in motion as speedily as possible, and

Colonel Davie hastened to Guilford to rejoin the General. He arrived there early in February, and continued with the army through the exciting events of the next four months.

Hardly any combination of circumstances could exist, presenting greater difficulties to the Commissary of an army, than those in which he was compelled to make his first experiments. The whole American force was in rapid retreat towards the Dan, and every day changing its position to distant and unanticipated points. On its return to Guilford, the march was less hasty, but the changes were hardly less frequent. The arrangements, which had been made with the state of North Carolina, were too recent to allow him to look for any relief from them. His only resource was to receive from the willing, and extort from the reluctant inhabitants along the route they traversed, such means of subsistence as they possessed; a service which called for much promptness and energy among the disaffected, and the exercise of all his skill and discretion to avoid offence to the friendly. He was present at the memorable battle at Guilford Court House, on the 15th of March, and though not in the action, as he had no command, he was a watchful observer of all its movements, and distinguished himself by his efforts to rally the broken ranks, and bring them to the field again.

Before General Greene left Ramsay's Mills in the pursuit of Lord Cornwallis, he sent Colonel Davie to Oliphant's Mills, on the upper part of the Catawba, with directions to establish a magazine for provisions, and for the deposit of heavy baggage and ordnance. The post was well chosen for security and for the convenience of river transportation. Having executed this order and stored there a large quantity of salt, he resumed his place near the army, and was present at the engagement at Hobkirk's Hill, on the 25th of April; at the evacuation of Camden by Lord Rawdon, on the 10th of May; and during a portion of the siege of Ninety-Six. In all these movements, the celerity of which made his task much more difficult, he was indefatigable in his efforts to maintain a constant supply of necessaries for the army, and the service required all his activity and peculiar knowledge of the country and its resources; and not only for his diligence and success in his department, but for his sound discretion and military eye, he continued to be high in the favor of the General, and his constant and one of his most trusted counsellors.

While the army lay before Ninety-Six, General Greene found it necessary to send a confidential messenger to the legislature of North

Carolina, to represent to that body the wants of his army, and his now almost sole reliance for assistance on them. Colonel Davie, who knew the most of the members and had much influence with them, was selected for this purpose; and adding his own persuasions to the instances of the General, he induced the legislature to grant what was for them a generous contribution to the exhausted numbers of the southern army.

CHAPTER V.

Acts as Commissary-General of North Carolina — Difficulties of this Service. — The Finance of the State. — The Specific Tax. — Impressments. — Changes in the Policy of the State. — Is obliged to pledge his own Credit to raise Supplies. — Dissatisfaction of the Legislature. — Settlement of his Accounts.

THE exigencies of the service, which were still unsupplied, and which the newly ordered levies would enlarge, required him to remain in North Carolina; and early in July he entered on the regular discharge of his duties as Commissary-General of that state, in which

office he continued to act till nearly the close of the war. The points for which he was now to provide were many, and the supplies to be gathered from distant places; the quantity of provisions demanded of him was always great, and yet the precise amount could never be exactly ascertained beforehand; and the means which were placed at his disposal were so inadequate as to call for constant sacrifices on his part, and to subject him not unfrequently to disappointment and mortification. The plans of the Commissary must be made with reference to the anticipated operations of a campaign, and are liable to be deranged by every material change which the accidents of war may occasion. Governor Burke proposed to keep an army of three thousand men constantly in the field, for whom supplies for six months were to be kept constantly on hand, and furnished to them at every point of their marches; while a large amount was always to be in readiness to meet any demands from the army in South Carolina, and for all the troops detached to its assistance on their passage through this state. To meet these many claims demanded system, no less than energy. In addition to the places of deposit required by law, for the produce of the several counties within their own borders, it was found

expedient to establish permanent magazines for the reception of larger quantities of stores, at points which were without the circle of the enemy's probable manœuvres, and from which the stores might be most easily sent to the army when required. One of these was at Edenton, and one at Tarboro, which was also made the point of general rendezvous, till, late in 1781, it was removed to Halifax. At the latter place Colonel Davie passed most of his time after he left the southern army, except when the necessities of the service obliged him to visit other parts of the state; and most of his official correspondence was dated there, though the office of the department was established at Salisbury.

The finances of the state were in a condition which increased very much the difficulties and embarrassments of his position. A new commonwealth coming into existence in a war, of which the event was yet uncertain, with a hostile army on its borders and garrisons in its midst, with large numbers of its own citizens openly resisting or feebly supporting its claims to independence, with resources already much exhausted, and which the constant drafts on them made daily less, and with a financial system imperfectly organized, and the brief experiment of which had not yet made men con-

fidest of its success, North Carolina had only scanty funds, and a scanty credit to meet the increasing demands on those whom she had placed in office. Yet the government made great efforts to do its duty and maintain its honor in this respect, and was well seconded, as their ability would serve, by the greater portion of the people.

From the beginning of the revolutionary contest the public burdens had been great; and in addition to all expenses of a domestic character, and all other modes of contribution to the general service, a tax, which grew in its dimensions every year, had been imposed for the special purpose of carrying on the war. In 1777 it was a half-penny, in 1778 two pence, in 1779 three pence, in 1780 eighteen pence, and in 1781 four shillings on every pound value of taxable property; and a proportional poll tax withal. Besides, the state had, in 1778, issued bills of credit to the amount of eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and in 1780, emitted a million and a quarter more. In these ways, a large part of the money in the state, and of the property which could be readily converted into money, had been exhausted, and they who had the taxes to pay felt sorely the severity of the increasing pressure.

In this exhausted state of the ordinary resources of the treasury, and urged by the necessity of making an immediate provision for the exigencies of a war, which might be expected to overrun their own state, the legislature resorted to the expedient of a specific provision tax. The confiscation of the estates of those, who adhered to the royal cause, was a measure which produced little profit and much odium. The money taxes were paid slowly and with difficulty, from the scarceness of any circulating medium in the country. A levy of provisions would meet the principal wants of the army, and it was supposed would also lessen the sufferings of the people. A deficiency of provisions also might have been feared; since in 1778, (and the prohibition was temporarily renewed in 1781,) the legislature, after declaring that the scarcity of provisions in the state rendered such a measure necessary, laid an embargo on the exportation, except by public authority, of beef, pork, bacon, and Indian corn, on penalty of a forfeiture of the same. This course of measures interfered very much with the commissarial schemes of Colonel Davie, and gave him occasion to remark afterwards, with perhaps some harshness, that "the internal policy of the state had been stamped with marks of the most profound wisdom; an

embargo laid when there was no occasion for such an odious cramp on commerce, and taken off at the moment policy would require it." The embargo, however, may have been designed to aid the operation of the law which imposed a specific tax.

The first tax of this kind was laid in the September session of 1781. The act ordained that for every hundred pounds of taxable property should be paid one peck of Indian corn, or an equivalent in other grains, and three pounds of good pork, or an equivalent in other meats; and authorized the collecting officers to distrain to double the amount, in case of a refusal or neglect to bring the specific articles to the appointed places. The commissioners were also empowered to impress one half of an estimated surplus above the current wants of a family, if they should refuse to sell the same to the state. This tax was continued by successive enactments through 1782, and in this year the amount was increased to one bushel of corn, and ten pounds of pork, or suitable equivalents. The provisions collected under these laws came, of course, under the jurisdiction of Colonel Davie, and, while they enlarged the resources at his command, his perplexities also were increased as much. Though intended to relieve the country from

a more oppressive form of exaction, this tax seems to have been paid with great reluctance. Much time was consumed in collecting it, especially in the thinly settled districts; and great difficulty was experienced in transporting the heavy articles, and driving the live stock to the points, which were continually changing, as new movements of the troops were contemplated, where they would be needed. Governor Johnston afterwards described it, and very truly, as "the most oppressive and least productive tax ever known in the state." The commissioners of the counties, on whom he was compelled to rely, were under an imperfect responsibility to him, and were not seldom inefficient in making their collections, and more tardy in making their remittances.

The deficiency of proper means of transportation was also a serious hinderance to the punctuality of his transactions. Barrels of rum and hogsheads of sugar and tobacco remained months where they were useless, for want of teams and wagons to remove them; and cattle were sometimes driven hundreds of miles, and became reduced by the journey and their scanty pickings by the roadside to mere skeletons, before they reached their place of destination. Wagons could seldom be had when most needed, and often at such prices only

as he was unable to pay. So slender were his resources, that once, at least, when he sent to hire a messenger to carry public despatches, he had nothing to offer him but the promise of "corn or something."

The specific tax, at best, provided only the coarser and ordinary necessities of subsistence. Other articles, not less necessary for the comfort of the troops, which were imported from abroad, wine and medicines for the hospitals, salt, of which large quantities were used continually in his department, and the like, could be obtained only by specie or tobacco. "Hard money," as he wrote to one of his agents, in October, "is a stranger in the coffers of the state;" and to another, "As for purchase by hard money, it is a joke." The quantity of tobacco which the government could command was entirely insufficient to serve as a substitute. The demand of these in payment by the merchants was usually equivalent to a refusal to sell. The people found it convenient to pay the specific tax mainly in corn; and the Commissary was compelled to barter it away, and sometimes to exchange his commodities more than once, before he could procure the articles he wanted. He bought rum with salted beef and tobacco, and exchanged corn for pork, pork for cordage, and cordage for salt. As was nat-

ural, his intended bargains were often intercepted by those who had more means or better credit than himself, to his own mortification and the detriment of the service.

When the means which the tax supplied failed to meet the demands upon him, Colonel Davie was authorized to receive contributions, to be credited on a future levy, which, as they depended on the voluntary consent of the few who were able to make advances, could not be large in amount. When the contributions also failed, he was forced to resort to impressments. To a high minded man like him, this was an odious measure. He called it "a legal robbery, qualified by a promissory note," which he condemned as "so great a violence to the rights of the people, and so contrary to the genius of our government, that it ought never to be exercised except in some extreme military circumstances, and which, when exercised by the civil power, argues weakness and want of address in the executive." Yet the resources of the country were so much exhausted, and what remained came in so slowly, that the army would sometimes have been left destitute but for the use of force to collect supplies. In December, he wrote to General Greene, in reply to pressing calls for aid, "The specific levies of government are quite made-

quate; our money and promissory notes are called 'state tricks,' and will be no longer received; so that I have been obliged to procure the necessary supplies by impressment and contribution."

Besides the obstacles already alluded to, which Colonel Davie was called to encounter in this office, there were others of a very serious nature. Of these the unsettled character of the policy, both military and financial, of the state, was not the least. There were three Governors, of very unlike characters, during the year 1781. Nash had resigned in disgust at some ill-timed movements of the legislature. Burke was taken prisoner late in the summer, and carried to Charleston. Martin was in office for the remainder of that, and a part of the following year. Of course, under each the general scheme of operations was modified, and all the inferior departments suffered an inconvenience from the change; and none more than the Commissary's, in which, most of all, regularity and a permanent system were essential to success.

The method of collecting the taxes, and the disposition of the troops, were different under the several administrations. Governor Nash and his council directed a contribution of one fifth of all the live stock in the state, which

the people refused, from the evident absurdity of the order. His successor reduced the demand to the true legal standard. One kept the army in wandering and unconnected detachments, in which condition it was hardly possible they could have a regular supply. Another had them as much concentrated as the necessities of the country would allow. The arrangements for supplying them with food, which had been adapted to the one state of things, must be materially altered to suit the other.

Some of these evils are referred to in a letter of October 23d to General Greene. "You have felt," he says, "and without doubt must be convinced, that the resources of the state, either from a blunder in our polity or want of address in the executive, are of no more service than if they were really exhausted; and that neither our money nor our credit is any longer a medium. The ruinous policy of Governor Nash, in impressing all imported articles on the moment of their arrival, has discouraged trade so effectually, that we were left without fifty bushels of public salt in the state, and the inhabitants in the same situation. The unfortunate Governor Burke gave assurances to the government of protection. This remedied part of the evil; but the gov-

ernment have made no provision for purchase." * After suggesting the desirableness of a credit with the Continental treasury, he adds, "It answers little purpose to call on this state for supplies she cannot procure, and if you still rely on us, I must be furnished with other resources. I have made purchases on account of the public, but am obliged to pledge my own credit, which no man ought to do for the public." This necessity of procuring supplies, by giving his own bond for the payment, appears in much of his correspondence of this period. On the 1st of November, he wrote to Governor Martin, "As the purchases I make rest on my own personal credit, a risk which hardly any thinking man would hazard for the public, your Excellency must make it a point to support me, and enable me to discharge our contracts with punctuality." Three days later, he wrote, in anticipation of the meeting of the assem-

* The want of money and the difficulty of procuring these articles at home were so great, that the legislature had organized a Board of Trade, to which Ex-Governor Caswell and Mr. Robert Bignal, a merchant of Edenton, were appointed, with authority to make importations and exportations on account of the state. The operations were soon discontinued, and the service to which Davie was called received no benefit from what he called "the stupid policy of the measure."

bly, "Should they make a house, I hope your Excellency will have influence enough to convince our politicians, that a government cannot exist without money or credit; that paper emissions without real funds of redemption are mere state tricks now detected by everybody."

The feeble manner in which he was supported by the government, which, indeed, was hardly richer than he was, exposed him to censure and indignity, as well as to hardship. On the 15th of the same month, he wrote in reply to a harsh insinuation of Brigadier-General Rutherford, "Relative to the rum, sugar, and coffee, which you suggest I have withheld from the militia, when you are informed that the supply I sent on was much larger than the Governor ordered, that I purchased the rum on my own credit, that I borrowed the sugar and coffee, and bound myself to replace it, a man of honor and sensibility would be sorry for the style and passion of your letter. At a time when the public have neither money nor credit, any thinking man would be at a loss to account for the lengths I have gone to serve them, but by my zeal for my country and natural attachment to the army." The scarcity with himself, as well as with the public, may be judged

of by the fact that, once at least, he was unable to procure clothes for his assistants, except by giving his own note. With hindrances like these in his way, the Commissary was expected to have always in readiness, and in all places where they might be needed, a competent provision of necessaries for the detached companies of militia, to keep the stations well supplied, and to provide for such troops from abroad as the contingencies of the war might bring into the state. Governor Burke, with his usual energy, had made preparations for a vigorous effort against Wilmington, then in possession of Major Craig, just before he was so unceremoniously transferred thither himself. Large demands were made on Colonel Davie for this service, which were continued till after the place was abandoned by the enemy. Bladen and Brunswick had already been drained of their means of subsistence, and the neighborhood contained a great proportion of inhabitants friendly to the royal cause. The supplies for the troops who acted in that quarter were brought from a distance; some of them from the extreme north of the state. At the same time he was required to have every thing constantly prepared for the forces, which were supposed to be on their way to the southern army; and

as the route they would take through the state, no less than the time of their passage, was uncertain till three or four days before they entered it, several distinct and distant lines of magazines, stores of corn and meat, and the necessary teams and wagons, were kept in order for their reception. Meanwhile he was harassed by frequent requisitions from General Greene, whose men were in urgent want of all the necessaries of a camp, and whose remoteness added not a little to the difficulty of his compliance.

Early in April, 1782, he received directions from Governor Burke to forward a large amount of provisions to the southern army. While his assistants in different quarters of the state were actively engaged in executing this order, the legislature, in session a few weeks after, either taking offence, as Colonel Davie supposed, at "the honest zeal" of their obedience to Governor Burke, or in one of the freakish moods which will sometimes possess public bodies as well as individuals, abolished, in one act, the commissarial and quartermaster's departments of the state, and restored the clumsy and inefficient system of county commissioners. The preamble of the act assigns as the reason of it, that "sundry persons, calling themselves state commissaries, have com-

mitted great abuses and waste, by making unlawful impressments and misapplication of public stores." And the members of the Assembly carried their indignation so far as, on their return home, in May, to drive off their cattle, which had come into the hands of the commissioners, and to recommend to their constituents to follow their example, declaring that the Assembly had condemned the measure.

Governor Martin, however, thinking it necessary to have this contribution completed before Colonel Davie could properly close his accounts, issued an executive order to that effect, and the army received their supply. He felt himself obliged by the law to dismiss the Commissary's assistants; on which Colonel Davie wrote to him, "I am sorry your Excellency should feel a pang on that subject, as they have already dismissed themselves, and it was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail on them to collect the cattle of the contribution. No man could desire them to continue in a service, where they reap no recompense but reproach for their most active and zealous exertions." The censure of the legislature seems to have been designed for them only, though so indiscriminate in its terms, and though the effects of it were keenly

felt elsewhere ; and, deep as was his mortification, it does not appear that a suspicion was entertained in any quarter of the uprightness, or fidelity, or zeal of the Commissary-General.

The session of the Assembly closed on the 12th of May, and Colonel Davie began immediately to prepare his accounts for final settlement with the state. They were exceedingly complex and numerous, including, in the number of persons with whom they had been opened, almost every militia officer and merchant in the state. They were forwarded to the Comptroller's office early in August, and the severest legislative scrutiny was invited by Colonel Davie. The Comptroller's examination seems, however, to have been satisfactory, and at length, though with some delay, it was accepted, and the accounts were settled.

CHAPTER VI.

Colonel Davie returns to the Practice of Law. — The wide Range of his Studies. — His Success as an Advocate. — Employed in criminal Cases. — Is chosen a Member of the Convention appointed to revise the old Confederation. — His Opinions and Services in that Body. — His Name not affixed to the Constitution.

DURING the war of the revolution, and in the active service in which he was constantly engaged, Colonel Davie found little leisure for the studies of the profession to which he designed to devote himself, and in which he had already taken the first steps. But as soon as he was released from these cares, and while the settlement of his accounts as Commissary was yet pending, he turned his attention to it again, and began his first circuit in February, 1783. About the same time he married Miss Sarah Jones, the eldest daughter of General Allen Jones, of Northampton, and selected the town of Halifax, on the Roanoke, as the place of his future residence.

The profession of the law was eminently congenial with his tastes, and best suited to

his peculiar powers, and gave him the largest hope of the distinction which he felt himself able to attain; and he applied himself with great diligence to the studies, as well as the practice it required, and left no labor untried which might insure his success. The establishment in this country of a new form of government, and the introduction, which it made necessary, of new principles of law, and of the interpretation of laws, as well as novel applications of old ones, demanded of one who would rise to eminence in that profession a very wide range of legal study.

He would be often called to the discussion of original and elementary rules, and to aid, so far as an advocate might aid by suggestion and argument, in the adjustment of the parts of an untried system; and he could not, as one in later times may do, look for competence and fame from his acquirements in a single department.

Colonel Davie studied the law with deep interest as a science, and though the popular character of his talents strongly led him to those portions, both of the science and the practice, which gave most occasion for display, he pursued with ardor and patience the investigation of its abstrusest doctrines, and those of which the peculiarities of our institutions allowed only

a slight or infrequent use, and became familiar with the learning of real estates and remainders, and special pleading, and chancery jurisdictions, no less than with the law which applies to an indictment for murder or an action of trespass. The published reports of the legal questions argued by him show that his cases were prepared with great care; and the arguments, though commonly referring to general principles of reason and right, and such as a mind more given to speculation than purely legal points might have made, abounded also in apt and copious references to adjudged cases.* He seems to have delighted rather in the discussion of questions, which do not turn on merely technical distinctions, and which afforded scope for moral disquisitions, as those in which the rules of equity are involved, or those which arise under the laws of nations.

Applying himself, in this method, to his favorite studies, he soon attained a high reputation for professional skill and knowledge, and was retained in a great number of the most important causes that came before the courts. He speedily acquired a reputation for success as well as skill, and had ample oppor-

* See, for example, *Strudwick vs. Shaw*, 1 Haywood, 5; and *Hamilton vs. Eaton*, Martin's Notes.

tunities in the variety of cases intrusted to him to show the extent of his learning, as well as the versatility of his powers. The judiciary system of North Carolina was such, that lawyers in extensive practice were required to accompany the courts through the various districts of the state ; and the services of Mr. Davie were demanded by his clients in all of them. He regularly traversed the state, with the exception of the district of Morganton, which was furthest from his residence ; and wherever he went displayed the same fertility and readiness of resources, and captivating style of address, whether the case was an arrest of the judgment of a convicted felon, or an action of ejectment, or a suit involving treaties and a conflict of laws, or one to decide a disputed bet on a horse-race.

His early popularity and success in his profession were owing no less to his powers as an advocate, than to his knowledge of the principles of law, and familiarity with the proceedings of courts. He is spoken of by those who remember what he was in his prime, as among the most accomplished speakers of that day, both at the bar and in deliberative assemblies. His high character in this regard rests now entirely upon tradition. Besides the meagre reports of adjudged cases in the books,

and imperfect notes of speeches in conventions and in the legislature, all records of his eloquence have perished; a fate which, indeed, awaits the efforts of all orators except the fortunate few, the zeal of whose admirers, or whose laborious love of fame, has rescued their inspirations from the common oblivion.

Gifted with features of singular beauty and power of expression, a manly form, a melodious voice, and the best physical conditions for success in that art, he seems early to have entertained the ambition to become an orator. His mind, too, was naturally discursive, and of an easy flow of thought, and habituated to many of the casual associations, which are of hardly less use to the public speaker than the compactest logic. His temperament, too, though on ordinary occasions somewhat sternly kept in check, was of the impulsive character, which might easily raise him to those flights of passionate and vehement utterance, which are commonly reckoned among the highest forms of eloquence. His elocution was graceful and dignified, and his ideal, touching both the matter and manner of his orations, had something of Ciceronian amplitude in it, which led him to overlook the mere necessities of the argument or of the occasion, and to aspire after a style of address.

which should rather satisfy his judgment as a rhetorician, than simply accomplish the present purpose of the advocate.

Such is the concurrent testimony of the survivors of those who heard him. Judge Murphy, of the Superior Court of North Carolina, who had the best opportunities of judging, and whose opinion is of high value, gives this account of his forensic efforts. "Davie took Lord Bolingbroke for his model, and applied himself with so much diligence to the study of his master, that literary men could easily recognize his lofty and flowing style. He was a tall, elegant man in his person, graceful and commanding in his manners. His voice was mellow and adapted to the expression of every passion. His style was magnificent and flowing. He had a greatness of manner in public speaking, which suited his style, and gave his speeches an imposing effect. He was a laborious student, and arranged his discourses with care, and, when the subject suited his genius, poured forth a torrent of eloquence that astonished and enraptured his audience. They looked upon him with delight, listened to his long, harmonious periods, caught his emotions, and indulged that ecstasy of feeling, which fine speaking and powerful eloquence alone can produce. He is certainly to be ranked among

the first orators, whom the American nation has produced."

Powers of eloquence so striking found their most appropriate occasion for display before a jury. In the unsettled state of the country during and soon after the war of the revolution, many crimes had been committed, the due punishment of which was reserved till the judiciary system should be confirmed in its proper operation by the return of peace. Colonel Davie was early employed in defending persons thus accused; and his skill and success soon drew to him a principal share of this kind of practice. For many years, a large portion of the important cases in which personal liberties and rights were involved were intrusted to him. It is said, and seems not unlikely to be near the truth, that during the fifteen years he was at the bar, there was not a capital trial in North Carolina in which he was not retained for the defence. It may be proper to add, that the case of the famous Tory, Colonel Bryan, mentioned in all the brief memoirs of Davie as having given the first impulse to his professional success, is a pure fiction, Colonel Bryan never having been brought to trial.

Eminent as he became, it was not for the want of worthy competitors. James Iredell,

and Alfred Moore, successively justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, François Xavier Martin, with Duffy, and Haywood, and Badger, who were at the bar with him, were lawyers and advocates to whom few men might not have been proud to be considered equal.

The eloquence and legal learning, which, when fully developed, were so conspicuous, attracted much notice in the earlier portions of his career, and led his fellow-citizens to desire his services in arranging the yet unsettled political system of the country. They had soon an opportunity to show the degree of confidence they reposed in him. Experience having shown the defects of the original Confederation, a Convention was called to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to provide a remedy; and in January of that year, the legislature of North Carolina elected Mr. Davie one of the delegates to represent that state in the proposed Convention. He was associated in this delegation with Alexander Martin, who had been Governor of the state, Richard D. Spaight, afterwards Governor, William Blount, and Dr. Hugh Williamson, the well known historian of North Carolina; men who, by their firmness, intelligence, and ability, did honor to the state which sent them.

Dr. Williamson, who seems to have added unusual fluency in debate to great sagacity and skill in the conduct of the business of such a body, took a more prominent part in the deliberations of the Convention than any of his colleagues. Colonel Davie was their junior, and naturally left the chief share of the discussions to them. His active life had been spent very much in the field, and the few years of peace had been passed in the pressing duties of his profession. Yet he had not been an idle spectator of the progress of events, which made a new Constitution necessary, and was well acquainted with the interests of the country to which it was to be adapted. His studies had rendered him familiar with the theory and practical working of different systems of government, and he was in no degree deficient in the discernment and forecast, which enable one to seize the merits and anticipate the results of a new scheme.

All these qualities were fully displayed by him in the part he took in the discussions of the Convention. Yet in that assembly of great men, the most of whom had a longer experience of public affairs, it was the part of modesty, and doubtless of wisdom too, in him, to choose rather to learn than teach; and while he forgot no interest of the state which he represented,

and failed in no duty to the common weal, he might have done all that became him by a silent vote, or by an influence less obtrusive than bold and frequent argument. Such considerations, perhaps, led him to adopt a more quiet course than his abilities would fairly have entitled him to take. The votes being given by states, we are not able to ascertain his individual judgment on many of the questions which came before the Convention, but its records contain proofs enough of his sound sense and manly frankness and fidelity. A brief notice of the opinions which he maintained there will not be out of place.

While the constitution of the executive was under discussion, it became a grave question, how an unfaithful incumbent should be displaced. Several motions having this point in view were rejected; and the one establishing the doctrine of impeachment was offered, after consultation with the North Carolina delegation, by Dr. Williamson, and seconded by Colonel Davie; who also sustained the principle of the resolution in a speech, when the subject came up for discussion. He also addressed the Convention, on a resolution of Mr. Ellsworth to give the states an equal vote in the Senate, in which he shrewdly stated the objections to every plan that had been pre-

sented in regard to the election of that body, and the relative weight of the states in it. The only reports that we have of this speech are too imperfect to enable us to judge of its merits. The impression it made on the Convention may be inferred from their election of him as a member of the committee to which that subject was finally referred.

Hardly any topic gave them more trouble, than the rule of representation in either branch of the legislature. Mr. Davie addressed the Convention on this point, insisting that numbers should be represented in the first branch, and property in the second; and though his views were not adopted, they were certainly far less visionary than many that were uttered on that subject.

The rule of representation would seriously affect the political influence of the different parts of the country, and it naturally excited the warm interest of the members; but the proposed introduction of slaves into the ratio drew out the most earnest opposition of those, among whom slavery was already virtually abolished. The southern members felt perhaps a deeper, certainly a more lively interest in this question. Colonel Davie partook largely of this feeling, and, following his own convictions no less than he was actuated by a

sentiment of fidelity to North Carolina, spoke on this subject with great ardor and vehemence; and, jealous of a deeper meaning in the opposition, than was intended by those who conducted it, he resented it as a plan to deprive the south of any representation for a very important portion of their population, and declared that North Carolina would accede to no union in the terms of which the negroes should be rated at less than three fifths, and that, if they were excluded, all further attempts to form a Constitution would prove useless.

Colonel Davie remained in Philadelphia till the deliberations of the Convention were nearly closed, and the adoption of the new Constitution had become certain. The autumn circuit of the courts in North Carolina being now at hand, in which many causes of high importance, and several in which life was at stake, demanded his presence; the Courts being known to be unwilling to postpone them, and his clients refusing to retain other counsel; he felt it his duty to return home, and leave to his associates the duty of signing the Constitution, the chief business which still remained. Though his name was not affixed to that instrument, he heartily approved the most of its provisions, and always strenuously defended them.

CHAPTER VII.

Excitement in North Carolina touching the new Constitution. — Dread of Tax Gatherers. — Colonel Davie chosen a Member of the State Convention. — The Leaders and Policy of the Parties in it. — His Influence and Speeches there. — The Constitution rejected.

THE Constitution was duly sent to the several states, to be ratified or rejected by them. The legislature of North Carolina ordered that delegates from all the districts of the state should be chosen to meet in Convention, to decide on the course to be taken by that state. During the interval between the calling and the assembling of the Convention, the whole commonwealth was agitated with discussions touching the merits of the proposed organization. Personal interests, local rivalries, political partisanship, old habits, long cherished jealousies, made the election a bitter contest. Every recollection of past suffering, of oppressive acts of power under the royal government, the sense of an independence earned by painful sacrifices, the dread of an aristocracy, all doubts of human virtue, all passions, prejudices, and ignorance, were appealed to that could poison

the minds of the people against the new system. It was made the subject of open and vehement debate at every court-house, market, bar-room, and place of public meeting. Its provisions were ingeniously misinterpreted, with all appearance of candor, a method familiar to shrewd politicians at all times. Pamphlets, handbills, newspapers, and the machinery of political agitation, were freely employed to prepossess and determine the popular judgment.

The power to ratify the new Constitution proceeded, of course, from the people. The power was theirs, because their interests were at stake. Yet power does not confer wisdom, and while the mass of men may feel whether a system of government works well or ill, they can hardly with any certainty anticipate its operation. In all such cases, they who are reputed to be wise must lead, and they who are thought to have the most sympathy with popular necessities will have the greatest influence over the popular feelings. The question of the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution became naturally, therefore, in a great degree, a question of political ascendancy, and the lines of parties were strictly drawn.

There were many features in the scheme now submitted to the people, which a slight misunderstanding would expose to general odi-

um. The fear of consolidation, and the suspicion of a tendency towards arbitrary power, were easily awakened among a people jealous of their liberties. There was an almost universal dread in North Carolina of the coming of federal tax gatherers. Hard money was then very rarely seen. The paper in circulation had depreciated nearly one hundred per cent. The value of all property was exceedingly reduced. The inhabitants had been already much exhausted by taxes and commercial restrictions. The agricultural riches of the state were but imperfectly developed. Its commerce paid tribute to both South Carolina and Virginia, and its position in this respect was not unaptly likened to a patient bleeding at both arms. The public distress had engendered a want of confidence in private transactions. In some of the western counties there had been almost open insurrections. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that the whole subject of federal taxation became one of the most popular themes of declamation through the country, and one of the most formidable obstacles to the adoption of the Constitution in the approaching Convention.

There can be no doubt that the new Constitution was, for these and other reasons, ex-

tremely unpopular in North Carolina, and that the delegates to the Convention were chosen with an express or implied consent to defer to the will of their constituents. Nor can there be a doubt that the Convention, both in the arguments which influenced it and the result it arrived at, fairly represented the general sentiment of the people of the state. Even in the body which formed the Constitution, one of the members from North Carolina, Mr. Blount, had refused to sign it, if his signature should be understood to mean any thing more than his testimony to the fact, that a majority of the delegates of the state had adopted it.

The Convention met in the Presbyterian Church at Hillsboro, July 21st, 1788, and consisted of two hundred and eighty members. Among them were the leading politicians of the state, and many men whose learning, eloquence, integrity, and political sagacity, would have won them a high consideration in any deliberative assembly. It became evident, at an early stage of their proceedings, that the enemies of the Constitution were already confident of their majority, and had resolved on their system of tactics. Their policy was to assure the doubtful members of their own party, and seduce the wavering ones of their

opponents, not so much by a frank discussion of the Constitution, which they endeavored to prevent altogether, as by the statement of plausible objections. As skilful fencers, they avoided every exposure of themselves, and left hardly any art of captious disputation untried, which might throw its defenders off their guard and put them at a disadvantage.

Accordingly it appears throughout the session, that the opponents of the Constitution contented themselves chiefly with questions, often teasing and always *ad captandum*, while almost the whole debate came from its defenders. And their part was nobly performed. Foremost in their number, and the leading spirit in the whole body, was the late Judge Iredell, conspicuous for his graceful elocution, for the apt application of his varied learning, his intimate knowledge of the working of schemes of government, and his manly and generous temper. He was supported by a band of able debaters, and able men, who were satisfied to follow such a leader, and whom he could fully confide in; Governor Samuel Johnston, always calm, lucid, and convincing, and who, though the president of the Convention, shared in its debates also, as they were most of the time in committee of the whole; Colonel Davie, too impetuous to be politic, but adding a peculiar

familiarity with the subjects of discussion to his always bold and commanding eloquence; Spaight, who had also been a member of the Federal Convention; Archibald M'Laine, of Wilmington, sensible, pointed, and vigorous; and by no means the least among them, General John Steele, of Salisbury, laborious, clear-sighted, and, though not a prominent speaker, not less serviceable to his friends by his knowledge of men and skilful marshalling of their forces.

On the other side, as has been intimated, there was much less debate. Yet able men were not wanting there, sagacious in discerning distant evils, and honest and determined in their resistance. There was David Caldwell, a Presbyterian divine from Guilford, shrewd, persevering, and impracticable, as a man of the closet and of theories might well be; Timothy Bloodworth, of New Hanover, resolute almost to fierceness, and almost radical in his democracy; Samuel Spencer, of Anson, candid, temperate, and by far superior to his associates in discussion; and Willie Jones, of Halifax, beyond comparison the most adroit tactician in the Convention, and the most influential politician in the state, and who directed the movements of his party with no less skill than success.

In this body Colonel Davie found ample scope for the exercise of all his abilities. He was put upon the committee of rules and orders, and that of elections and privileges, the only ones the Convention formed. After a resolution to take the question without debate had been refused, and the discussion of the Constitution was fairly opened, the first movement of the opposition was made through Mr. Caldwell, who demanded to know how the Federal Convention had dared to style themselves "We the people." The implication, which was designed to be the effective part of the query, was, that the Convention had exceeded their powers, and, though irrelevant to the merits of the system, was an attack by no means to be despised. It was also a grave charge on the members of that assembly, which Mr. Davie, as one of them, was bound to repel. This he did in a speech of great clearness and precision, as well as force, setting forth the events which led to the proposed confederation of the states, the defects of the old system, and the necessary action of the delegates under the authority which had been given them. It was a discussion in outline of the whole subject before them, and a complete vindication of those who had framed the Constitution. With the usual policy, more

manly perhaps than discreet, of those with whom he acted, he forbore to take any formal notice of the implication, which his argument effectually crushed.

No sooner had he taken his seat than the reverend objector, clinging to the advantage which an ungenerous insinuation gave his party, repeated yet more loudly, "I wish to know, why the gentlemen who were delegated by the states styled themselves, 'We the people.'"

He was answered directly, more than once, and still continued his demand, till his own friends, ashamed to hear so often what themselves had so often said, put him down.

The policy of Jones and of the party on his side was to avoid debate, and often, when the sections were read, which had been most loudly complained of through the state, they would pass them without remark, as if fearing to have the objections, which had answered their purpose out of doors, refuted on the floor of the house. This course compelled the advocates of the Constitution to suffer it to be rejected without defence, or to take the ludicrous and provoking attitude of replying to alleged faults of the system, which yet had not been objected to it in debate. This induced Jones once to remark derisively, that "he could put the friends of the Constitution in a way of

discussing it. Let one of them make objections, and another answer them." And when they sometimes felt reluctant to reject an instrument of union, with which they seemed unable or unwilling openly to find fault, it is difficult to decide of some of the objections that were made, whether they proceeded from an affected simplicity or a real ignorance. Many of them were doubtless designed merely to annoy and occupy their opponents. If there was craft on one side, there was irritation on the other, and finally bitterness on both.

Mr. Davie did not address the Convention so frequently, or at such length, as many others; but the effects of his eloquence were evidently much dreaded by the other side of the house. He came among them with a high reputation for forensic skill. "I expect," said Mr. Porter, "that very learned arguments and powerful oratory will be displayed on this occasion. I expect that the great cannon from Halifax (Mr. Davie) will discharge fireballs among us." Mr. Davie seems, however, to have felt that they had met for graver purposes than the indulgence of a desire to shine, and to have restrained the natural sallies of his eloquence to an earnest and business-like attempt to secure the great interest then at hazard. His own feelings, too, were irritated by the "gloomy si-

lence" of his adversaries; and his forebodings of defeat in a cause which he had so much at heart were enough to repress all promptings of vanity.

Mr. Davie, as one of the framers of the Constitution, was of course expected to present and vindicate the views they entertained, and the reasons which induced them to offer to the country the system which was now to be discussed; while others, not members of that body, applied to it the general rules of interpretation, and declared what would be the operation of its principles. His interest in the adoption of the Constitution would not allow him to leave any method of persuasion untried; and while he appealed with little success to the spirit of concession, which finally ruled in the counsels of the Federal Convention, he offered to the people of his own state explanations of that instrument, and arguments in its defence, which were worthy of a longer experience, and indicated a high degree of political foresight.

It is observable that much weight was given, in both the general and the state Conventions, to considerations touching the future form of government that were purely local or temporary, the mere accidents of the scheme,

and that the greater part of those who decided this great question were slightly influenced by what time has shown to be its true merits. The Convention of North Carolina was certainly no exception. The want of theoretical perfectness in it determined the judgment of some ; and the sense of a partial evil, magnified by jealous fears, swayed the action of many more. The advocates of its adoption, as they had the debate mainly to themselves, had also the best of the argument. The other side, with few exceptions, offered only insinuations, and surmises, and taunting questions, and silence. Yet reserve and doubt outweighed logic and eloquence, and when the question was finally taken, the friends of the Constitution, the Federalists, as they were called, were outnumbered by one hundred votes.

CHAPTER VIII.

His Taste for Agriculture. — Plan of draining Lake Scuppernong. — Warrenton Academy. — Elected to the House of Commons. — His Efforts to establish the University. — An active Member of the Board of Trustees. — Is chosen Major-General of North Carolina. — Appointed Brigadier-General of the Provisional Army. — Prepares a System of Cavalry Tactics. — Governor of North Carolina. — Minister to France.

MR. DAVIE early manifested a decided taste for agricultural pursuits, which in the retirement of his later life he was enabled more fully to indulge. He had acquired by marriage a plantation in the neighborhood of Halifax. The estate which he had inherited from his uncle still remained to him. These he continued to manage, and the income which he derived from them, as well as from his rapidly increasing and lucrative legal practice, naturally tempted him to larger enterprises in planting. Such an investment of his growing means was then the safest, if not the most profitable, and furnished a relief from the excitement of professional engagements. He

brought to this new occupation the wide views and sanguine anticipations, which marked the workings of his mind in other departments, and took a deep interest in the introduction of a better system of farming in the region where he lived.

Large portions of the eastern section of North Carolina were then, as now, composed of tracts of exceeding fertility, but of little value to the planter on account of the very wet and marshy character of the soil; and which remained long uncultivated, because the inhabitants were not acquainted with the best method of subduing them, or averse to the protracted labor and great expense of such processes. Many of these swamps are of vast extent, and in some, of more than ordinary richness, the waters have accumulated in lakes. One of these, Lake Scuppernon, in Tyrrel county, attracted Mr. Davie's attention, both as what might be made a source of private profit, and as giving an opportunity for making on a large scale an experiment of drainage, that might serve as a model and an encouragement to those whose lands were in like condition.

The lake is about eight miles long by five wide, and, by its nearness to the Scuppernon River and the Sound, it seemed to invite such an operation; and the land that might be un-

covered would prove of great value for the culture of rice and hemp. As the scheme required the resources of more than an individual, a company was formed, in which he was joined by his father-in-law, and several other men of property in the vicinity; and as the results were uncertain, the legislature of the state, in 1784, to assist them by the hope of remuneration, granted them the fee simple of all the lands lying below the low water mark, which they should uncover by draining in the next seven years. The scheme shows at least the enterprising spirit of those who formed it; though in a year or two it was abandoned by them, and passed into other hands, either for the want of pecuniary ability in the projectors, or through the diversion of more engrossing interests.

With all his other occupations, Mr. Davie found time to devote to what he justly deemed the first care of a patriot, the encouragement of education. In 1786, he obtained from the General Assembly the charter of an academy called the Warrenton Academy, to be established in the district of Halifax. He was placed at the head of the trustees named in the act of incorporation, and associated with Thomas Person, Willie Jones, and Benjamin Hawkins, and other men then eminent in the

state, who shared his desire to insure by such wise and liberal provision the continuance of the free institutions they had labored to establish. The trustees were authorized, as was not uncommon in that day, to raise a fund for the use of the academy by a lottery.

The abilities and services of Colonel Davie soon secured the entire confidence of the people of the precinct where he resided. The reserve, and somewhat stately distance, which characterized the manners of his earlier life, aided him perhaps in acquiring this confidence; but though his intercourse with his fellow-citizens was always frank and courteous, they could hardly feel for him that enthusiasm of personal attachment, which is usually the reward of habitual and easy familiarity. Those who were admitted to an intimate acquaintance with him became warm and steadfast in their friendship, and the general conviction of his integrity and disposition faithfully to serve his country was all the popularity he desired. The good opinion of his neighbors was no less flattering than the favorable estimate of the public. He was chosen for many years, except when the necessities of his private business constrained him to decline an election, to represent the borough of Halifax in the lower house of the legislature of North Carolina.

The House of Commons, the most numerous and popular branch of the Assembly, was a fit field for the exercise of his peculiar powers, and it was here that the finest exhibitions of his oratory were made. He was a laborious member, as well as a brilliant debater. He was placed on the most important committees, and when subjects of unusual interest or perplexity arose, it was seldom that he was not one of those to whom it was referred. His political preferences were very decided. He was, of course, attached to the Federal party, and his talents and services well entitled him to be the leader of that party in the house. The final adoption of the Constitution proved the complete overthrow of those, who had once so triumphantly rejected it; and though their opposition grew more and more formidable, the ascendancy of the Federal party in the state for so many years was owing, in no small degree, to the counsels, the eminent ability, and influence of Mr. Davie.

The traces of his wisdom are still conspicuous in the statute book of North Carolina; and many of the cherished institutions of the state owe their existence to his suggestion or advocacy. Of these none is perhaps more worthy of notice than the University, the act for establishing which was drawn by him, and

passed by his influence. He felt that such an institution must connect itself intimately with the future prosperity of the country, and, associating with himself Iredell and Alfred Moore, the Attorney-General, and others, men of classical acquirements, who sympathized with his zeal, he pressed the subject in every form upon the attention of the people. "They roused the ambition of parents and their sons; they excited emulation among ingenuous youth; they depicted in glowing colors the necessity of establishing a public school or university, at which the young men of the state could be educated."

They encountered much resistance. Men of liberal culture were many indeed, but not common. In the confused and troubled times through which the state had just passed, all schemes of instruction had been broken up or suspended. In its earlier periods, almost no provision had been made for the education of the people. A large portion therefore of those, who would be called to vote, indirectly at least, upon the project, had never enjoyed the benefits of learning, and could not appreciate them. Ignorant men could easily believe that the plan was one step towards a permanent aristocracy. They who had already felt the hard pressure of the public burdens

might find the expense a sufficient objection. The question mingled itself also, to some extent, with party politics; and the cry of "economy," and the pretence of a peculiar regard for the poor, were methods of agitation no less effective then than now. To raise the public sentiment to even a consent to their views, and disarm opposition, was a task which required all the address and ability of the wise and patriotic men, who urged the cause of the University.

The greatest opposition was met with in the legislature, where the dread of forfeiting public favor gave greater force to objections which the people, out of doors, had entertained. Tact, logic, satire, eloquence, were needed and employed to carry the measure through the Assembly, and were at length successful. The act was passed in 1789. It was on this subject, the prosperous accomplishment of which he had more at heart than almost any other, that Mr. Davie put forth the highest efforts of his genius, and the most splendid achievements of his eloquence. "I was present in the House of Commons," said Judge Murphy, "when Davie addressed that body upon the bill granting a loan of money to the trustees for erecting the buildings of the University; and although more than thirty years

have since elapsed, I have the most vivid recollections of the greatness of his manner and the powers of his eloquence upon that occasion. In the House of Commons he had no rival, and, upon all great questions which came before that body, his eloquence was irresistible."

The great influence which he wielded there, freely used in behalf of other important interests of the state, was especially devoted to the interests of the University; and most of the regulations made for it while he was a member of that body were made at his instance, or through his influence, and sometimes not without a vehement opposition. He was a member of the first board of trustees, and held that place during his residence in the state, and was vigilant and anxious in regard to whatever might have a bearing on its prosperity. The selection of a site for it, the superintendence of the erection of buildings, the choice of the professors, the arrangement of studies, the purchase of the necessary apparatus, the disaffections which sometimes occurred among the students, the ordering of the steward's department, as well as the general maintenance of discipline, engaged his personal and active attention. The officers of the University looked to him for counsel and aid in

every emergency, and the whole institution learned to regard him as in a peculiar sense its patron. For many years he regularly attended the examinations, and the exercises of the commencement; and while his presence animated, the well known impartial severity of his judgment exerted a wholesome restraint upon the whole body of the college. A portrait of him now hangs in the hall of one of the societies of the students, and he is still gratefully remembered among them as one of their chief benefactors.

The project of a digest of the laws was brought forward by him, and the appointment of Judge Iredell, one of the most accomplished jurists of the country, to that work was made at his suggestion. The cession of the territory which now forms the state of Tennessee was effected mainly by his influence. In 1791 he was appointed by the legislature one of three commissioners to establish the unsettled part of the boundary between North and South Carolina. He was elected for the same purpose in 1796, and again in 1803. None of these commissions, however, were successful.

While so actively engaged in civil occupations, his early military enthusiasm was not abated. In January, 1794, he was commissioned by Governor Spaight to be Major-Gen-

eral of the third division of the militia of North Carolina. The agitated condition of affairs abroad, and the close relations which had subsisted between the United States and France now becoming convulsed with change, led all who watched the course of events to contemplate the likelihood that our country would at no distant period be involved in war. Congress, with this possibility in view, having, on the 24th of June, 1797, directed that the militia of the several states should be embodied, he was appointed in September of that year, by Governor Ashe, Major-General of the detachment raised in North Carolina under that act.* As the injuries inflicted by the French cruisers on our commerce continued to increase, and other causes of offence with that nation grew serious, Congress, in May, 1798, authorized the levying of a provisional army of ten thousand men. General Davie received from Mr. Adams, then President, the commission of Brigadier-General in this army. The appointment of the officers of the portion of the troops that were to be raised in his state was, in effect, committed to him by General Washington. In the same year, General

* The number of men to be raised in North Carolina under this act was 7268.

Davie prepared a system of cavalry tactics, which the Assembly of North Carolina ordered to be printed, and to be adopted by the cavalry of that state.

While he was receiving such tokens of public confidence at home and abroad, the change in political sentiments which had been going on in his own neighborhood endangered, for the first time, his election to the House of Commons. The circumstances are thus stated in a private letter from Halifax, written in August, 1798. "The contrariety of opinions, respecting the measures of the general government, had given rise to an open division of parties in the town of Halifax, as early as the 4th of July. The 'true Whigs,' as they styled themselves, dined together under the oaks, and toasted Mr. Jefferson. The other party, who were called 'aristocrats,' ate and drank in the house, on entirely different principles. General Davie dined in the house with the aristocrats. The 'true Whigs' took offence at this, and resolved to oppose his election, and it was only with much address that they were kept quiet." The writer adds, "If any person had had the impudence to dispute the election, General Davie would certainly not have been returned. The rabble, which in

all places is the majority, would have voted against him."

In the autumn he took his seat in the house. One of the earliest duties of the legislature then was the choice of the Governor of the commonwealth for the ensuing year. General Davie and Benjamin Williams were nominated by the Commons; and on joint ballot, December 4th, General Davie was elected. On the 7th he took the oaths of office. Though his political character and services might have fairly entitled him to that distinction, it can hardly be doubted that his high military reputation contributed also very much to his elevation. The disturbed state of public affairs made it highly desirable, that the executive should combine military skill and experience with a talent for civil administration.

The business of his brief administration was of no peculiar importance. There was little patronage connected with his office; and the deviations from the ordinary course of affairs were but slight. He was chiefly occupied with some arrangements respecting fortification and defence, with the investigation of frauds supposed to have been committed in the Tennessee land office, and attempts to settle the

boundaries with that state and South Carolina.

President Adams, having received informal assurances that the French Directory were disposed to treat with an embassy from the American government, had nominated to that mission Mr. Murray, then Minister at the Hague, Chief Justice Ellsworth, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia. Mr. Henry having declined the appointment, the President nominated General Davie in his place. His commission was issued June 1st, 1799, though the appointment was not designed to be made public till further advices should be received from France.

On the 10th of September he resigned his office of Governor, and on the 22d left Halifax, to join Mr. Ellsworth, who was already at Trenton. The people of Halifax and its vicinity presented a complimentary address to him, on the eve of his departure. The address was written by a political adversary, and signed by large numbers of the same party.

CHAPTER IX.

Embarks for France. — Change of Administration. — Kind Reception by the French Government. — Difficulties of the Negotiation. — A Convention finally agreed on. — Celebration of this Event at Morfortaine. — Especial Respect shown to Governor Davie.

ON the 3d of November, 1799, Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie embarked in the frigate United States, which had been ordered by the government to convey them to France. They had been induced by the history of events for the last few years, and by the present aspect of affairs in that country, to look forward to the probability of some sudden and important changes in its government. Indeed a state of things so chaotic, yet so full of wild energy, blending so much of fierce passion with the uncertain action of principles whose value had as yet hardly been tried, might have led less shrewd observers than they were to anticipate but little permanence in the order then existing.

A letter of Mr. Pickering, then Secretary of State, addressed to Mr. Davie, September 5th, shows how justly the temper and working of

the times were appreciated by those in power in the United States, as well as the forecast of that very able man. "Wearied and disgusted with an unvarying succession of republican tyrants, the mass of the French people may be ready for one more revolution, which shall land them, after sustaining countless losses and unexampled sufferings, where they were when with pilots alike destitute of honesty, experience, and skill, they embarked on what they have indeed found to be 'a tempestuous sea of liberty.' It will excite no surprise, if soon we hear Frenchmen exclaiming, *Vive le Roi!* and that on your arrival in Paris, instead of five Directors, the Luxembourg should present to you a King."

Guided by such anticipations, and doubtful of the effect which a change in the form of administration there might have on their reception, the Envoys determined to touch at Lisbon, before entering any port in France. They reached that city, November 27th. Here they were informed of the revolution, at Paris, of the 18th Brumaire, which transferred the powers of government from the Directory to three Consuls, and in effect to Napoleon, who had been declared First Consul. The full effect of this transfer, depending as it did on the peculiar character of the First Consul, was fore-

seen by few even of those, who were engaged in the active politics of France, and could hardly in any degree have been understood by foreigners. It was apparently but a slight modification of the executive department. Yet, as it might result in the adoption of an entirely new system of policy in regard to foreign powers, Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie regarded it with some uneasiness. The fickleness, as well as hostility, with which the French government had recently treated the United States, seemed to excite in them an especial apprehension. Moreover, their credentials were addressed "to the Executive Directory of the French Republic," and they felt some solicitude, whether they would be received by the Consulate.

They remained in Lisbon nearly a fortnight, in the hope of gaining more particular knowledge of the features and probable consequences of the revolution; and uncertain in what way, if in any, it would be best for them to attempt to enter France. Only the circumstances of that event, however, reached them, though they were detained there more than a week longer by contrary winds. They sailed from the Tagus on the 21st of December. As it was judged too hazardous to attempt, at that season of the year, to make any port in Hol-

land, where they had wished to join Mr. Murray, and where they might have obtained the information they desired, they put to sea with the intent of landing at L'Orient. On the third day out they encountered a severe gale, which continued till the 2d of January, and by which they were driven from their course beyond Cape Clear. Finding it both difficult and dangerous to approach the coast of the Bay of Biscay in so tempestuous weather, they directed Captain Barry to steer for any harbor in France or Spain, which he could safely reach. He chose Corunna, and they anchored in the Bay of Ares, a few leagues from that place, on the 11th of January. The frigate being detained there by adverse winds, they landed at the village of Puente d'Eume.

Immediately after their arrival at Corunna, they despatched a courier to Paris with a letter, dated January 17th, "to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the French Republic," announcing their arrival at that place as Envoys from the United States, and requesting that passports might be granted for themselves and their suite to Paris. Having determined on continuing their journey by land, they left Corunna on the 27th of January, and on the 9th of February arrived at Burgos, in Old Castile, where they met their courier, returning from

Paris. He brought their passports, and a note from M. Talleyrand, the French Minister of Exterior Relations, in which he assured them that the form of their letters of credence would be no obstacle to the opening of the negotiation, and that they were expected with impatience, and would be received with warmth, (*avec empressement.*) Encouraged by these assurances, they set forward from Burgos on the 11th of February, taking the route by Bayonne; and after a long and disagreeable journey, in the severest season of the year, they reached Paris on the 2d of March. Mr. Murray had arrived the evening before.

The next day they informed M. Talleyrand of the arrival of the whole commission. They were received by him with every appearance of kindness. On the 8th they were formally presented to the First Consul, in the Hall of the Ambassadors, at the Tuileries. The audience was a public one, and was attended by the two other Consuls, the Ministers of the French government, the Ministers of foreign powers, and other public functionaries; and the whole presented a striking contrast with the studied indignity, with which the Directory had treated the late envoys from the United States. The commissioners, who were appointed to conduct the negotiation with them, were

Joseph Bonaparte, M. Fleurieu, who had been Minister of Marine, and M. Roederer, Counselor of State.

The American Ministers were desirous to enter at once on the negotiation; but on account of the indisposition of Joseph Bonaparte, who was the president of the French commission, an interview with them was postponed till the 2d of April, when the parties met at the house of Joseph Bonaparte. On the exchange of powers between them, the American Envoys did not consider those, which had been granted to the French Ministers, full and explicit enough to authorize them to take the first steps towards a treaty, under the limitations of their own instructions, and a further delay of several days was suffered, till these should be suitably enlarged.

The American Ministers had been instructed to insist on adequate compensation for the injuries done to the commerce of the United States by French cruisers, and, after this had been granted, to effect a permanent arrangement of the commercial intercourse and navigation interests of the two countries. Accordingly, after some correspondence touching the order to be observed in discussing the differences, which had arisen between them, Messrs. Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray, on the 17th.

sent a note containing several articles drawn up in the form of a treaty, and covering the whole subject of individual claims. One of these articles contained a stipulation, that, in the adjustment of such claims, all which had arisen since the 7th of July, 1798, should be decided according to equity and the laws of nations, leaving all which existed before that date to the operation of the treaties and consular convention, which had till that time been in force between France and the United States.

The validity of the distinction between these two classes of cases was questioned by the French commissioners, who demanded that the treaties and convention referred to should be taken as the basis of the whole negotiation. They thought it hard to be obliged to make indemnity for violating engagements, to the benefits of which they could not be restored; and that the formal annulment of those compacts, by the United States, should be considered as waving all claim of compensation for injuries committed under them. They declared also the invincible repugnance of the French government to yield the anteriority, especially in regard to the right of asylum for privateers and prizes, which had been granted to it in the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, and asserted that it was incompatible

with the honor of France to consent to the extinction of a right in favor of an enemy, and especially to appear to acquiesce in the establishment of that right in favor of Great Britain.

The American Envoys vindicated the distinction they had made, and while they clearly affirmed that the French claim of priority could not be allowed, as having been already merged by the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, they transmitted the plan of a treaty embracing all the points which they deemed to be at issue between the parties. While the negotiation was in this state, the American Ministers were informed, that if the restoration of the former treaties, with the rights under them unimpaired, could not be made the condition of compensation on the part of France, new instructions must be obtained from the First Consul.

Napoleon was now in Italy with the army. Fearing that he might decide at once from a report of the terms offered, or be influenced by the condition of military affairs, and that such hasty decision might break off the negotiation, or seriously embarrass them in it, they proposed, on the 25th of May, to add to their project of a treaty the stipulation, that neither party should grant the right of asylum to any other

power, unless they had mutually assured the same to each other. The whole subject thus presented was referred to the First Consul, and, early in June, Joseph Bonaparte repaired to his head-quarters. Further discussion was of course delayed till the return of the brothers. The battle of Marengo on the 14th of June having given success to the French arms, Napoleon left the seat of war, and reached Paris on the 3d of July, where Joseph soon joined him.

The ground taken by the French plenipotentiaries was fully approved by the First Consul; and under new instructions they offered, August 11th, as the only terms on which they could form a treaty, the alternative of the old treaties and all their advantages of priority, with stipulations for reciprocal indemnity, or a new treaty on conditions of equality, without indemnity. The American Ministers were now reduced to the necessity of giving up all hope of compensation for depredations on our commerce, or of deviating from their instructions; and at different times offered various conditions of compromise, which were uniformly and resolutely declined.

At length, on the 12th of September, they were plainly told by the French Ministers, that their real object was, as it had already been suspected to be, to avoid by every means any

engagement to pay indemnities ; giving, as one reason, the utter inability of France to pay, in the situation in which she would be left by the present war. They were now satisfied that the main purposes of their mission could not be accomplished ; and, as the best they could do in these circumstances, they sought to make some temporary arrangement, by which the commerce of the United States might be protected from the abuse of captures during the remainder of the war, and the large amount of property then depending before the Council of Prizes might be saved, and the two nations might be relieved from the attitude of hostility in which they then stood. They accordingly offered proposals having these objects in view, and found the French Ministers well disposed to enter into such an arrangement. On the 19th these proposals, with the terms which had been stated as most acceptable to the French government, were discussed in conference. The business was conducted in this way of amicable conference, from day to day, till the 30th, when all the articles were finally agreed on. A few days after, they were drawn up in form, and mutually signed, under the title of a Convention. It was dated the 30th of September.

“ The signature of this treaty was celebrated with *éclat* at Morfontaine, a beautiful seat, which

Joseph Bonaparte, who was richer than his brothers in consequence of his marriage, had some time before purchased. The First Consul went thither, accompanied by a brilliant and numerous party. Elegant decorations, set up in the mansion and gardens, every where exhibited France and America united. Toasts suited to the occasion were drunk. The First Consul proposed, 'The names of the French and the Americans, who died on the field of battle for the independence of the New World.' Lebrun proposed, 'The union of America with the Northern Powers, to enforce respect for the liberty of the seas.' Cambacérès gave for the third, 'The successor of Washington.'*"

General Davie found his brief sojourn in Paris very agreeable. His beauty of person and graceful manners, rendered more attractive perhaps by a slight degree of *hauteur* which was natural to him, as well as the high rank in which he came, gained him a ready access to the most polished circles of that gay capital, and he soon became a favorite with those whose favor he most highly valued. "A man of his imposing appearance and dignified deportment," writes one who was then constantly

* Thiers' *History of the Consulate and Empire under Napoleon*, Book VII.

with him,* "could not fail to attract especial notice and respect, wherever he went. I could not but remark, that Bonaparte, in addressing the American legation at his levees, seemed for the time to forget that Governor Davie was *second* in the commission, his attention being more particularly directed to him."

The speculative turn of his mind naturally led him to cultivate an acquaintance with the philosophers who were then eminent in France. The problems in morals, religion, and the science of government, which they were fond of discussing, were not without interest on this side of the ocean also. The views which they entertained were not unfamiliar among us, and either from a sympathy with their infidel philosophy, or from unhappy causes of a more domestic operation, it was not uncommon to find men among the leading characters in Carolina, near the close of the last century, who were more or less tainted with infidel principles. The practical working of the notions of freedom, which they had introduced, engaged General Davie's careful attention; nor were the reasons by which the French endeavored to sustain them less worthy of the notice of an American statesman;

* The private secretary of Governor Davie, during his mission, Mr. Joseph B. Littlejohn, now of Summerville, Tennessee.

but the effect of the comparison was only to heighten his estimate of the popular institutions of his own country.

His friends were used to remark, that his intercourse with French society had abated much of the distance and sternness of his ordinary demeanor, and rendered his habitual courtesy more graceful; and that his disposition to literary pursuits seemed to have received a new impulse, and to have been formed into a habit which he never lost.

CHAPTER X.

Declines a Nomination to Congress. — Superintends the Formation of a Treaty between North Carolina and the Tuscarora Indians. — Becomes a Candidate for Congress. — Removal to South Carolina. — His latter Years. — His Death.

DURING the absence of General Davie, the political complexion of the state, and especially of the precinct in which he lived, had undergone much change. The Federal party, which had long been the prevailing one, had become at least doubtful of its ascendancy. Its

members had severely felt the want of his present influence and exertions. Those who are skilled in the calculations of politics have not hesitated to assert, that the favor which Mr. Adams bestowed on his friend, in sending him to France, cost the President his reëlection. The Federalists of Halifax, who were anxious to bring forward their strongest candidate, as well as to retain the services of General Davie in public life, in the spring of 1801, earnestly solicited his permission to present his name to the people of that district, as a candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. The state of his private affairs, which had been too much neglected in his almost exclusive devotion, for many years, to professional duties, and which had received much less attention while he was Governor of the state, and during his absence, much longer than he had anticipated, in France, demanded his constant supervision, and induced him to decline the nomination. Willis Allston, then a member of the same party, was elected. In June of the same year, Davie was placed by President Jefferson at the head of a commission, of which General James Wilkinson, and Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina, were the other members, to negotiate with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek

nations of Indians, for further cessions of lands, and for the settlement of boundaries. The need of attention to his private business induced him to decline this appointment also.

In June, 1713, the larger part of the Tuscarora tribe of Indians had abandoned North Carolina, and joined the great confederacy in New York, known, after their union with it, as the Six Nations. A fragment of the tribe, who had taken sides with the whites in the warfare which had preceded the migration of their brethren, remained in Carolina. To give them a secure position, and as a reward for their services, Governor Eden, in 1717, granted them a tract of land on the north side of the Roanoke River, in what is now the county of Bertie. The title thus acquired still remains to their descendants. Parts of these lands, not needed for their own use, were from time to time leased by them; and the legislature of the state, as well as of the province, repeatedly interposed to assure their title, prevent intrusion, and sustain them in the collection of their rents. Their numbers, however, were gradually reduced by the removal of families and individuals, who joined their more prosperous brethren at the north; and in consequence of the distant residence of, at length, the greater part of them, the gathering of their

rents became very difficult and troublesome, and the body of those who owned the lands ceased to derive any benefit from them.

In this state of things, the Tuscaroras sought the superintendence of the United States over a treaty to be concluded between themselves and the state of North Carolina. Governor Davie was appointed, by Mr. Jefferson, the commissioner on the part of the United States. He met the agents of the state, and the chiefs of the nation, at Raleigh, in the autumn of 1802, and the treaty was signed December 4th of that year. By the terms of it, the Indians were allowed to extend their former leases, and make new ones to run on till July 12th, 1816, at which date their title should determine, and the lands should revert to the state; the General Assembly was to declare the occupancy of their tenants to be an occupancy by the Indians, and to facilitate, by all means in their power, the punctual collection of the rents. Mr. Davie seems to have acted with great discretion in the execution of this trust, and, while maintaining good faith with all parties, to have watched with considerate benevolence over the interests of the Indians. Having their rights thus assured to them, the remainder of the tribe removed to New York in June, 1803,

leaving one only of their number to receive their dues.

In the spring of 1803, he was again solicited to become a candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. Allston, though he had been elected on the strength of pledges given to their opponents, had gone over to the Democratic party, which was becoming numerous in his district. General Davie, who detested Allston for his treachery, had not the same reason as before to decline the nomination, and consented to be brought before the people. The gentlemen, who prevailed on Mr. Davie to consent to become a candidate, consisted principally of the moderate men of both parties, who agreed that he should have no trouble with the election, that no pledges should be required of him beforehand, and that, if elected, he should be left to follow his own judgment of the men and measures he should support. With these assurances, and having resolved not to canvass the district, he issued a brief circular to the electors. After announcing the wish of his friends that he should become a candidate, he added a paragraph which shows so plainly his character and position, that it deserves to be copied. "I desire that it may be clearly understood, that I never have, and that I never will sur-

render my principles to the opinions of any man, or description of men, either in or out of power; and that I wish no man to vote for me, who is not willing to leave me free to pursue the good of my country according to the best of my judgment, without respect either to party men or party views." His reserve, in leaving the conduct of the canvass entirely to his friends, and the tone of the circular, which was construed in many quarters into a defiance, gave the advantage to his adversary, the present member; who, whatever demerits he may have had, was already a favorite with the lower classes of the people, and well knew how to foster and use their prejudices. The refinement of General Davie's character, and the simple elegance of his ordinary mode of life, were easily made to sustain charges of pride and aristocracy, for which the familiar and convivial habits of his opponent certainly gave no foundation.

Though he had been urged to become a candidate by the leading men of both parties, no sooner was his intention made public, than the old party feelings revived, and the voice of the moderate men was drowned in the uproar which followed. He was denounced as a monarchist. A charge of a design to sever the Union was made against the Federalists,

and it was affirmed that he had been selected by them to be the king of the southern country. In quarters where this was found to be too gross a calumny he was accused of disaffection to Mr. Jefferson, and of a wish to be in Congress that he might intrigue more effectually against him. This alarmed the entire Democratic party; and Mr. Jacocks, who had been named by some of them in opposition to Allston, was persuaded to withdraw, to enable them to unite their whole force, and the result was the election of Allston.

The influence of Mr. Jefferson's name with his party was then almost unbounded; and the mortification which his defeat caused General Davie was mingled with an indignant sense of the dishonor, which he thought his state was suffering; "content," as he said, "with being a miserable appendage of the Ancient Dominion." Had he been elected, he would doubtless have remained longer in North Carolina, and in the public service of his country.

He had already served the state faithfully, and his defeat left him at liberty in that regard to execute the scheme, which he had long meditated and resolved on, of making his permanent residence at his estate in South Carolina. Soon after his return from France,

Mrs. Davie had been taken from him by death. She was a woman of fine attainments, and of a generous and noble character, a fit companion of one who could so well appreciate such qualities. The loss of her had severed the tenderest tie, which bound him to the spot where he had spent so many years. The nurture of his children, of whom she had borne him six, could be better guarded in the seclusion to which he proposed to retire. The larger portion of his estate had for many years been in South Carolina, and the prudent management of it required his constant presence.

Besides these reasons, Governor Davie had already begun to feel strongly the longing for quiet and rest, which at his age men engaged in public life often feel, and which can be enjoyed only in an entire separation from the duties and anxieties of politics. He found his constitution also somewhat impaired by the incessant toil and privation he had endured for many years, and now demanding precautions and refreshment. "Every thing," he wrote to an intimate friend, in June, 1805, "must yield to Time, and I have submitted with as good a grace as possible. My plan of life is to be completely changed, and those measures which are to lead me to a repose I have long

sighed for, and which is becoming every day more necessary for me, are to commence this fall. This plan involves some painful sacrifices; but they are indispensable. A separation from friends to whom my heart has been tenderly attached for many years, is among the most painful of them all. I feel it as a prelude to that last separation, to which the laws of our nature compel us all to submit. About the 1st of November I purpose to set out for South Carolina, with a view to reside permanently on my estate there."

The estate to which he removed, named Tivoli, was situated near Landsford on the Catawba River. In the seclusion which he sought for here, he found ample leisure for the pursuits of elegant literature, of which he was fond, and in which his familiarity with several of the languages of Europe enabled him freely to indulge. The clouds, which soon after overcast the political sky, afforded him matter for speculation and correspondence, sometimes of disquiet and alarm for his country; but he always felt that their menaces were not for him. The energies, which he had shown in other departments of life, were now mainly exerted in the less exciting occupations of agriculture; and the planting interests of that state owe much to the intelligent zeal with which he

suggested and introduced new and more effective methods of cultivation. Mainly at his instance, a State Agricultural Society was formed, of which he was the first president.

In the peaceful duties and enjoyments of this retirement, varied only by the exercise of an elegant hospitality, in which none indulged more generously, and by occasional visits to the scenes of his former activity, where crowds of friends and admirers were always ready to greet his coming, he passed his later years. And when the end came, he met it with the firmness of a soldier, and the composure which comes from the recollection of a life filled with brave, honorable, and useful actions. He died in December, 1820, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. A remembrance of more than ordinary affection is retained of him by those who knew him, and the many monuments of his wise devotion to the public service will long endear his memory to the state, whose interests and honor he guarded so faithfully and so well.

Water is the most important factor in the life of plants.

It is the most abundant substance in the world.

It is the most essential for the growth of plants.

It is the most important factor in the life of animals.

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L I F E

OF

S A M U E L K I R K L A N D ,

MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS ;

BY

SAMUEL K. LOTHROP.



PREFACE.

To propagate the gospel, and introduce the arts and influences of Christian civilization among the aborigines of North America, has, from the discovery of the country, been an object dear to the heart of Christian philanthropy. The attempt can now be regarded as in a great measure only a splendid failure; but not the less worthy or honorable are the labors of those, who have from time to time engaged in it.

Among those, few have been more faithful and devoted, few have made larger sacrifices, exposed themselves to greater perils and hardships, or had their efforts crowned with more success, than Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas.

As his life covered a most interesting period in the history of this country and the Indian tribes, and, while devoted to a great Christian cause, was somewhat connected with public

characters and events, it is hoped that the following memoir, imperfectly executed, but prepared from original documents, his own journals and letters, may be thought to possess some value as an addition to the stock of American biography.

S. K. L.

Boston, *September 25th, 1847.*

SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Kirkland's Birth. — Origin of the Kirkland Family. — Emigration to America, and Settlement at Saybrook. — Young Kirkland placed at Dr. Wheelock's Indian School in Lebanon. — Enters College at Nassau Hall. — Motives and Influences that determine him to become a Missionary to the Indians. — Expedition to the Senecas.

SAMUEL KIRKLAND was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on the 1st of December, 1741. His father, the Reverend Daniel Kirkland, was the minister of that part of the township of Norwich, which was then called the parish of Newent,* and is now the town of Lisbon. His mother was Hannah Perkins, a daughter of a

* So called because many of the original members of the parish came from Newent, in Gloucestershire, England. It was incorporated under the name of Lisbon in 1786.

very respectable gentleman in Windsor, Connecticut.

The Kirkland family, as the name indicates, is of Scotch descent. In this country, it may be traced back to Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1635. Among the thirty-six heads of families, who were the early settlers of that place, the name of John Kirkland appears, who is said to have come from Silver Street, London. He had a son John, who was the father of ten children, of whom Daniel, the father of the subject of this memoir, was the youngest but one. He was born in Saybrook, in 1701, and educated at Yale College, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1720. He was the first pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Norwich, the parish of Newent, over which he was ordained on the 10th of December, 1723.

After a ministry of nearly thirty years, he resigned his charge, and was for a brief period settled at Groton, Connecticut. He returned, however, to Newent, 1758, and passed the remainder of his life amid the scenes of his early labors, cheered by the tender assiduities of his early friends, and the honorable success of his son Samuel, the missionary to the Indians, by whom he was in part supported. He died in May, 1773. A few years since, persons were still living in Norwich, who distinctly recol-

lected him, and his memory is still honored there, as that of a worthy and devoted minister of the gospel, an accomplished scholar, a man of fine talents, of a ready wit, and an amiable temper and disposition. From all the traditional information of him, to be gathered at Norwich, it is probable that he was remarkable for many of those qualities of mind and character, which were subsequently so conspicuous in his grandson, the late John Thornton Kirkland, president of Harvard College.

Samuel was the tenth in a family of twelve children, of whom five were sons. Of the incidents of his childhood and early youth nothing can be now ascertained, though from the position and circumstances of his family, and the general state of this country at that time, we may well suppose they were such as served to nurture those qualities of character, that spirit of self-reliance, energy, and devotedness, which he subsequently displayed as an Indian missionary. From the letters and journals now in the hands of his descendants, the first that can be learned of him is as a student at the Reverend Dr. Wheelock's school, at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1761. Here he was highly esteemed and beloved, as is evident from many of the letters of his fellow students addressed to him after his departure. One of them writes

thus, under the date of November 13th, 1762; "Pray accept a few lines from one who sincerely loves you, and has grateful sentiments of many instances of your open, sincere, disinterested friendship towards him. Your covering with a mantle of charity my many instances of ignorance, error, and imprudence, does much endear you to me. I have no remembrance of the least angry word or look from you since I have known you, but quite the reverse. I might use the same language concerning you that David did concerning Jonathan, 'My brother, very pleasant hast thou been unto me,' and I wanted to let you know it."

He appears to have hesitated whether to pursue his collegiate studies at Princeton or New Haven, and to have been confirmed in his choice of the former by the advice and solicitation of Ralph Wheelock, then a student at Nassau Hall. This institution, then under the presidency of the Reverend Mr. Findley, was in a very flourishing condition, and, in the judgment of some, afforded "better advantage for some parts of learning than Yale College." Many of the students, also Indian youth and others, who left Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, to prepare themselves by a collegiate course to become school teachers or missionaries among the Indians, resorted to Princeton.

This circumstance, undoubtedly, had some influence with the future missionary, in the determination which carried him to the New Jersey College.

He entered the sophomore class at that institution in the autumn of 1762. Here he was faithful and assiduous in his studies, held a good rank as a scholar, and, as at Lebanon, seems to have been very highly respected, confided in, and beloved by his fellow students. The intercourse between young men at College, in those days, seems to have been a matter of a little more form than at present. Among his letters is one dated Nassau Hall, April 28th, 1763, about six months after he went there, in which the writer, after introducing himself, says, "Give me the honor of your acquaintance, and the delights and satisfactions of your friendship. Nothing is wanting to my happiness and improvement, but what a gentleman of your age and character could do. I invite you to spend the coming summer in my room. Let there be between us the freedom and intimacy of brothers. My acquaintance in these parts with gentlemen of note (on my father's account) shall be yours, and perhaps some worldly advantage may accrue therefrom."

Among his papers are many other letters of

a similar character, addressed to him by his fellow students at Lebanon and at Princeton, all going to show that he impressed himself upon his companions as a young man of marked intellectual and moral qualities. He received his degree at Princeton, in course, at the Commencement in 1765; but he was not present, nor did he remain fully to complete his academic career.* He left college about eight months previously, to enter upon that great and arduous work, to which he subsequently devoted his whole life, a mission to the Indians.

It has been generally supposed, that the influence and advice of the celebrated Whitefield were chiefly instrumental in inducing Mr. Kirkland to forego all the advantages which his talents, his education, and the clerical profession opened to him in New England, and become an "apostle to the Indians;" and the author of a brief, but very interesting historical pamphlet, has opened his narration with a beautiful and graphic delineation of a "social interview, in a small town in New Jersey,"

* In a letter to Dr. Wheelock from the Seneca country, under date of March 24th, 1765, he says, "I return you most humble thanks for procuring for me the honors of college, which I did not at all expect would be granted." His degree, therefore, was obtained, probably, at Dr. Wheelock's solicitation, and through his influence.

between "a youth who had just completed his academical career," and "a middle aged minister of the gospel, and a venerable saint, whose name will live when ages shall have rolled away, and be revered while piety exists upon earth." He represents the youth as seeking a theatre wherein to proclaim the glad tidings of the gospel, and as having sought the advice of these friends to direct him where to go to do the will of his Master.

The "middle aged minister," in early life, had served as chaplain of a regiment of colonial troops in the late French war, and in that capacity had passed westward from the German settlements on the Mohawk, and traversed portions of the country of the "warlike, but noble nations of the Iroquois." He described to the youth the beauty of this country in its "native wilderness state," and with a poet's pencil painted the scene it might exhibit, when these sons of the forest should become enlightened with the true light which shineth from above, and when the arts, and comforts, and elegances of civilization, with the holy hopes of Christianity, should become their portion; and then pointed out the happiness of him, who should go the messenger and apostle of Christianity to their land, and aid in accomplishing so glorious a change.

The "venerable saint" added his words of persuasive eloquence, and urged the young man "to go forth to that field of his Lord, and manfully lay his sickle to that harvest." The youth, warmed with a new impulse, resolved to give himself, with the zeal of a Christian martyr, to "the proclaiming to wild men of that region the glorious hopes and promises of the gospel; and the history of a long life, checkered with many vicissitudes, furnishes ample proof that this youthful vow became the lodestar of his maturer years." The writer then states that this youth was "Samuel Kirkland, the early, the devoted, the beloved friend of the Oneidas;" that the middle aged minister was the Reverend Mr. Kirkpatrick, and the venerable saint was the celebrated George Whitefield; and leaves the inference to be drawn, that it was the persuasions of these friends, and the inspiring and controlling influence which Whitefield exercised over all who sought his friendship or advice, that fixed the hitherto wavering mind of Mr. Kirkland, and determined him to undergo the toils, dangers, and sacrifices of an Indian missionary.*

This is probably not the correct inference. As a young man, Mr. Kirkland had some, perhaps an intimate acquaintance with Whitefield,

* Notices of Men and Events connected with the Early History of Oneida County. By William Tracy.

and a profound veneration for him, as was evinced by his giving the name of George Whitefield to his first son, the twin brother of John Thornton. The interview above described undoubtedly took place, as the writer had it on the authority of the son of Mr. Kirkpatrick; but it had not the important influence in determining Mr. Kirkland's career, which the writer ascribes to it. The date he assigns to it would place it as late as 1766, just before Mr. Kirkland entered upon his mission to the Oneidas, which was in July of that year. But a year and a half before this, he had penetrated the country of the Senecas, the most powerful, savage, and warlike of the Six Nations, and had been living among them, with a view to learn their language, and introduce the knowledge and influences of Christianity among them. While at the school at Lebanon, also, he made considerable proficiency in the Mohawk dialect, under the instruction of a young native, a fellow student; and a passage in one of Sir William Johnson's letters to Dr. Wheelock, under date of November 17th, 1761, shows that he probably studied this language with a view to future use as a missionary among them. Sir William writes thus; "Mr. Kirkland's intention of learning the Mohawk language I very much approve of, as, after acquiring it, he could,

when qualified, be of vast service to them as a clergyman, which they much want and are very desirous of having."

Moreover, from many passages in his letters and journals, it is evident, that at an early age his heart inclined to this field of labor, and that his studies at Lebanon and at Princeton were pursued with a constant reference to his preparation for it. It was the theme of his youthful aspirations, the object to which he early determined to devote his life and strength, and which, at the age of twenty-three, he began to execute, by entering upon a scene of more danger and difficulty, and greater hardship and trial, than any to which any Protestant missionary had exposed himself.

The influence, therefore, which Whitefield may have exerted in the interview above described, and at other times and in other ways, went only to strengthen and encourage a purpose, which had its first germs and its living fountain in the promptings of his own heart. He had already resolved upon being a missionary to the Indians, and had actually spent a year and a half in this arduous service; the interview with Whitefield and Mr. Kirkpatrick, and their advice and suggestions, simply determined, not his resolution to be an Indian missionary, but his choice of the Oneidas and the region they inhabited as

the particular spot where this resolution should thenceforth be put in execution.

As has been already stated, Mr. Kirkland did not remain to complete his academic course at Princeton. He left college in the autumn of his senior year to enter upon a mission to the Senecas, or rather to visit them and reside among them till he had made himself master of their language, acquired a knowledge of their character, habits, and condition, and thus qualified himself to become their Christian teacher and guide. From his own papers and journals nothing can be ascertained, as to the origin of this particular expedition, by whose advice or instigation it was undertaken, or by whom the necessary means were furnished. Dr. Wheelock, in one of his letters to the Countess of Huntingdon, dated the 16th of May, 1765, says, "A young English gentleman, Samuel Kirkland, I sent last fall to winter with the numerous and savage tribe of the Senecas, in order to learn their language, and fit him for a mission among them; where no missionary has hitherto dared to venture. This bold adventure of his, which, considered in all the circumstances of it, is the most extraordinary of the kind I have ever known, has been attended with abundant evidence of a divine blessing."

In a letter to Sir William Johnson, on the 23d

of March, 1765, he writes, "I thank your Excellency most heartily, and particularly for your care and kindness to my dear Mr. Kirkland. I pray you to continue your paternal kindness towards him; and whatever supplies he shall stand in need of, please provide him with the same, and charge them to my account. I have enclosed to him an address to the chiefs of the nations, to be convened by your orders this month, and have desired him to submit the same to your Excellency's censure, which I hope you will not spare out of favor to me." In this address, he says, "I thank you for the kindness, which some of you have shown to my dear Mr. Kirkland, whom I sent into your country last fall. His heart is bent to do good to the Indians. He denies himself all the pleasures and honors, which he might have here among his friends, only to do you good. I hope you will continue your kindness to him, and treat him as my child."

From these and various other passages in Dr. Wheelock's letters, as published in his *Memoirs*,* it would seem that this expedition was undertaken at his suggestion, and the expenses defrayed by him, probably from moneys which, at this period, various distinguished and wealthy individuals in this country and England were ac-

* *Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock*, pp. 258, 264.

customed to contribute, through him, for the purposes of Indian education and the support of Indian missions. It was regarded at the time, and may well be regarded now, in the light in which Dr. Wheelock speaks of it, as, "considered in all the circumstances of it, the most extraordinary of the kind."

Of the six confederate nations, the Senecas were the most remote, the most numerous and powerful, and in the most savage state. This confederacy was originally composed of five nations, or tribes, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, and the Senecas; and was formed as early as 1608. Subsequently, the Tuscaroras, a tribe expelled from North Carolina in 1712, were received, and constituted a sixth member of the confederacy. Hence the name of the "Six Nations." By the Virginia and southern Indians generally, the nations of this confederacy were called Massawomekes. Their common appellation at home was the Mingoes. The French styled them Iroquois, which is the name by which they are most commonly designated. By a series of wars and conquests, successful beyond all precedent in the history of the Indian tribes, this confederacy became possessed of, or laid claim to, all the territory not sold to the English, from the mouth of Sorel River, on the

south side of Lakes Ontario and Erie, on both sides of the Ohio until it falls into the Mississippi, and, on the north side of these lakes, the whole tract between the Outawas River and Lake Huron. In 1679, the agent of Virginia, who held a conference with their chiefs at Albany, estimated the total number of warriors at two thousand one hundred and fifty, which would make their whole population from seven to ten thousand. Even as late as the revolutionary war, the number of their warriors actually engaged in the contest, if we include the two hundred and twenty who espoused the cause of the colonies, could not have been less than eighteen hundred. These nations were no less celebrated for their eloquence and wisdom, than for their political skill. Mr. Colden says, "The speakers whom I have heard had all great fluency of words, and much more grace in their manner, than any man could expect among a people entirely ignorant of the liberal arts and sciences." Of one, Decanesora, a chief of the Onondaga tribe, he says, "He had a graceful elocution, that would have pleased in any part of the world."

With the exception of some occasional efforts among the Mohawks and Oneidas, no attempts had hitherto been made from New England to

introduce Christianity among the nations of this confederacy. They seemed inclined, especially the Senecas, to oppose and reject all offers of the kind from Protestants; and before the bold and hazardous adventure of Mr. Kirkland, no Protestant missionary had ever penetrated these forests, or visited this tribe of ferocious pagans. "This gentleman," says Parish, in his *Memoirs of Wheelock*, "was, in various respects, peculiarly qualified for the arduous task. He possessed uncommon constitutional strength and vivacity, a mind fearless in danger, a great fund of benevolence, and a heart devoted to the cause of the Redeemer, and zealous for the conversion of the heathen. He travelled among those barbarians unattended, boldly persevered in the good work, and endured trials and encountered dangers which would have appalled a common mind with terror and dismay. Although famine spread its horrors round him, and his life was often in danger from some who watched an opportunity to kill him, yet he continued with them more than eighteen months, taught them from the word of life, and acquired a competent knowledge of their language. The contempt with which those haughty and bloodthirsty warriors first beheld him was, in many instances, converted into admiration of his courage and kind-

ness ; and some individuals became so enamored with him, that they expressed their desire to be instructed in his religion. But so unconquerable was the rage of others against him, that he saw " ultimately " no prospect of usefulness or safety." *

CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Johnson Hall. — Establishes Woolley as Schoolmaster among the Mohawks. — Leaves Johnson Hall in Charge of two Seneca Indians. — Journey through the Wilderness. — Arrival at the chief Town of the Senecas. — Reception by the Natives. — Adoption into the Family of the Head Sachem.

As Mr. Kirkland's expedition to the Senecas, undertaken at the early age of twenty-three, and his residence among them for a year and a half, form one of the most prominent, as well as the first great act of his life, and one abounding in romantic interest and perilous adventure, a more particular account of it may with propriety be given.

* Memoirs of Dr. Wheelock, p. 42.

His own journal of this enterprise begins with his arrival at Johnson Hall, on the 16th of November, 1764, where he was kindly received by Sir William Johnson, his Majesty's General Agent for Indian Affairs.* He was accompanied by Joseph Woolley, a native of the Delaware tribe, who, having been educated at the Lebanon school, was to reside among the Mohawks in the capacity of a school-master.

Mr. Kirkland was charged with establishing Woolley in this office, before proceeding to the Seneca country. Accordingly, after a week's rest, he left Johnson Hall on the 24th, taking Woolley with him, and proceeded by the way of Cherry Valley to Onohogkwage, the chief village of the Mohawks, where he arrived on the 28th, and was cordially welcomed by one of the most distinguished and influential men of the nation, commonly called by the English, be-

* Sir William Johnson was born in Ireland, and came to this country, 1734, at the age of twenty, to superintend the property of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, who had purchased a large estate in the Mohawk valley. For a more particular account of his history and character, of the important services he rendered to his government in the French war, services which raised him from "the class of yeomen to the rank of baronet," the reader is referred to Dwight's *Travels*, and to an article in the seventh volume of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.

cause of his excellent character and deep interest in the religious improvement of Indians, *Good Peter*. "Great satisfaction was expressed," says Mr. Kirkland, "that I had brought a person to teach their children, and they promised to take the best care of him they could, and to adopt him into their tribe. Good Peter then made some remarks upon my mission to the Senecas, said he apprehended it was too soon; that their minds were not yet sufficiently calmed after the tumults and troubles of the late war. He considered it as a bold and hazardous enterprise; but if my heart was bent upon it, God was almighty and everywhere present, and could protect me among the Senecas as well as anywhere else; and from his very heart he wished God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ, to be with me and protect me, as I was going to publish the good news of his gospel."

Encouraged rather than intimidated by these remarks of Good Peter, after staying a few days for rest, and to see Woolley properly introduced and provided for, "who could not refrain from shedding tears at parting," he returned to Johnson Hall, where he had to remain till past the middle of January, "for want of a convoy." This, however, was not time wasted, as he says, "I derived great advantage, both for my journey

and mission, from the description Sir William gave me of the situation of the Senecas, their manners and customs, and the general character of almost every chief man in the Six Nations, their talents and prevailing dispositions."

At length two Indians of the Seneca tribe arrived, known to Sir William as humane and obliging in their dispositions, with whom he was willing to trust Mr. Kirkland, if the latter "would venture." The weather was very severe, and a great body of snow upon the ground; but trusting he was "in a good cause, and sincere in the undertaking," he resolved to go.

Accordingly, the necessary preparations were made, and on the evening of the 16th of January, Sir William, in the presence of Mr. Kirkland and others, delivered to the two Senecas "a speech of considerable length, and then handed to them a large belt of wampum, in confirmation of what he had spoken on the occasion, and told them to deliver it to the Seneca chiefs in full council, and the purport of his speech which they had heard from his own mouth. They replied, that he might keep his mind quiet, that they should be faithful to their trust, and if any evil should befall the *young white brother* by the way, they would share with him, or both fall by his side."

On the morning of the 17th, having taken "an affectionate leave of Sir William," he commenced his journey, travelling upon snowshoes, and carrying a pack "containing some provisions, a few articles of clothing, and a few books, weighing about forty pounds."

It would have been a fine study for a painter, to watch his countenance, and trace its lines of high thought and holy purpose, as he turned his back upon Johnson Hall, the last vestige of civilization, and, amid the dreary desolation of winter, in company with two savages, whom he had first seen only two or three days before, and with whom he could hardly exchange a word, struck off into the forest on a journey of nearly two hundred miles.

The journey was performed, however, without any very great suffering on his part. "The second night," he says, "we encamped in good season in a wood near a brook. My convoy unslung their packs, and were very active in making the necessary preparations for a comfortable night's repose. One of them went with his little axe to cut wood for a fire; the other shovelled away snow, and gathered an armful of boughs of hemlock for my bed. I was forbid to do any thing but sit on the log near by and rest myself. By half an hour after sunset we had a fine fire, which soon dried

and warmed the hemlock boughs, whose aromatic flavor perfumed the air, and made it exceedingly agreeable, and we were well prepared to relish a good supper. I signified to them that I would take something out of my pack for supper, and that I wished one of them to take his small kettle, and wash it out clean, and bring it back full of water. I then took a ham out of my pack, (to tell the honest truth, I wished to have it lightened,) and cut off a number of slices, which I wished to have broiled. A wooden trammel was made, and two crotches put up in a short time, and the kettle hung thereon.

“They then cut some sticks about two and a half feet long, sharpened one end, and split the other, part of the way down. They put two or three slices of ham in one of these splits, and tied the top with bark to prevent their falling out, then stuck the sharpened end into the ground, the top leaning over towards the fire; a bark put under to catch the drippings. I again opened my pack, and took out a large drinking of tea, which I procured lest I could not immediately get weaned from it, and when the kettle boiled flung it in; and gave it a handsome boiling. The ham, by this time, was done, and put upon clean bark, the tea ready, and wooden spoons close by. My convoy fur-

nished bread. We sat around our dish, and ate like brethren, and a better supper I have seldom made. Could I have conversed freely with them, I might have had a sociable evening with them."

On arriving at Kanonwalahale, the principal town of the Oneidas, "After being made acquainted with my mission," he says, "they expressed some concern for me, and proposed my tarrying with them for a year, and then visit the Senecas. I thanked them for their good will, but told them that I could not relinquish my design till Providence stopped my path, or hedged up my way." On the fifth day, he writes, "I acknowledge I was pretty much fatigued with these last two days' march. My ankles were much swelled, not being accustomed to travel on snow-shoes. My convoy were very kind to help me along, by going before and making a track for me. This was a considerable relief to me; but if I made a misstep, or blundered over a log, or fell three or four rods in the rear, they would look back and stop till I came up. I commonly kept within two yards of the hindermost. I presently observed that the second would take the place of the first every three or four miles. I offered to take my turn. 'No! no!' said they, 'we are to make a path for you, and

not you to make a path for us. Sir William Johnson would be very angry if he knew we let you do so.' ”

At Onondaga they remained over one night, and a great part of the next day. This rest was very grateful to Mr. Kirkland, and the delay was necessary, because, Onondaga being the central council fire of all the Six Nations, they claimed, as a piece of respect due to them from time immemorial, that the message of Sir William Johnson to the Senecas should be communicated to them. This was done in the council-house, a building nearly eighty feet long, and containing four fires, in which they assembled in crowds about ten o'clock in the morning. When they were all seated, and their pipes lighted, and their chief sachem had made declaration that they were ready to hear whatever message they had to deliver, “one of my convoy arose, and took the belt of wampum in his left hand, that his right one might be at liberty for action when necessary to give emphasis. He delivered the purport of Sir William Johnson's speech, with a good deal of grace, and by additions and explanations spoke nearly three quarters of an hour. At the end of every sentence, they expressed their assent, by crying out one after another, or twenty all at once, ‘*Athoo toyeske,*’ ‘It is so.’

very true." When my convoy had finished his address, the chief sachem replied, and spoke like a Demosthenes for more than half an hour; but I lost all the good of it for want of an interpreter.

"So soon as the speech-making was over, the old chief rose and was coming towards me. I instantly rose and met him half way. He took me by the hand and embraced me, kissed one cheek, and then the other. I supposed I must return the compliment. I accordingly kissed his red cheeks, not disgusted at all with the remains of the paint and grease, with which they had lately been besmeared. He gave me many benedictions while he held me by the hand. Then came one after another to shake hands with me, perhaps nearly one hundred in all, giving me their benediction in different ways."

They left Onondaga towards the evening of that day, and proceeded on their journey. Mr. Kirkland suffered very much the rest of the way from swelled ankles. "My convoy, however, were very kind and attentive to me," he says; "and one night, after we had encamped, and I had pulled off my Indian leggins, one of them, observing my ankles, said I must go with him to a run of water, just at hand, where he bathed and rubbed them, and

said he would scarify them in the morning, if they were not better. 'This,' said he, 'is our Indian practice, and it always gives relief.'"

On the 7th of February, towards evening, twenty-three days after leaving Johnson Hall, the party reached Kanadasegea, the principal town of the Senecas, and, according to Indian custom, halted at the skirts of the town, till a messenger came out to inquire "whence they came, where they were going, and what was their desire." The convoy replied, "We are only bound to this place, and wish to be conducted to the house of the chief sachem." By him they were kindly received, and bid to possess their minds in peace that night. On the next day, about twelve o'clock, a council was held, and Sir William Johnson's address to them delivered, and received with great applause, except by a small minority, who were silent. Mr. Kirkland "did not quite like their sullen countenances." "The head sachem," he observes, "made an animated reply; thanked Sir William for his introducing the young *white brother*, thanked the ministers at *Tyorhan*, that is, at the East, for sending him to teach them good things, and thanked me that I had so much love for Indians, as to undertake so long a journey at such a season of

the year. He saluted my convoy, and thanked them for their care of me through the long and tedious way. He then handed the belt of wampum to the sachem who sat next to him, and it passed round the whole circle. Some would stroke it up and down with the hand, and perhaps make some remarks. Others would only look upon it, apparently with intenseness of thought, and not open their lips, and then pass it to the next. This ceremony took up more than twenty minutes by my watch, as I was particular to notice all their movements on the occasion."

It was determined that Mr. Kirkland should remain with the head sachem, till some more convenient place could be provided. Here he was visited continually by great numbers, and through an interpreter, a Dutch trader, who happened to be there for a few days, he was able to converse with them freely, and to answer, he believes to their satisfaction, the great question asked by all, "What put into his mind to leave his father's house, and his country, to come so many hundred miles to see Indians and live among them?"

Within a few weeks after his arrival, he was formally adopted as a member of the family of the head sachem. A number of the chiefs

assembled in the council-house, the members of the head sachem's family being present, and sitting apart by themselves. Mr. Kirkland was waited upon and invited to attend at the council-house. On his entrance, after a short silence, one of the chiefs spoke.

“Brothers, open your ears and your eyes. You see here our white brother, who has come from a great distance, recommended to us by our great chief, Sir William Johnson, who has enjoined it upon us to be kind to him, and to make him comfortable and protect him to the utmost of our power. He comes to do us good. Brothers, this young white brother of ours has left his father's house, and his mother, and all his relations. We must now provide for him a home. I am appointed to say to you and to our young white brother, that our head sachem adopts him into his family. He will be a father to him, and his wife will be a mother, and his sons and daughters his brothers and sisters.”

“The head sachem then arose and took me by the hand, and called me his son, and led me to his family. I thanked him, and said I wished the Great Spirit might make me a blessing to his family. I then shook hands with his wife and children, and with all who

were convened on the occasion. A smile of cheerfulness sat on every countenance, and I could not refrain from tears; tears of joy and gratitude, for the kind Providence which had protected me through my long journey, brought me to the place of my desire, and given me so kind a reception among the poor savage Indians."

The sachem's house being crowded, and exposed to much company, it was determined that Mr. Kirkland should reside in a house near by, in full view, occupied by a small family, consisting only of a man and his wife and their niece; the man "one of the best in all the town, sober, temperate, industrious, honest, and telling no lies." Here he was made very comfortable and treated very kindly, and he applied himself diligently to learn the language, and by the help of two words, *otkayason*, "what do you call this?" and *sointaschnayati*, "speak it again," he made rapid progress.

CHAPTER III.

His Host dies suddenly in the Night. — Great Excitement in the Village in Consequence. — A Council called. — The Funeral of the Deceased. — Apprehensions felt for Mr. Kirkland's Safety by his adopted Family. — Concealed for some Days at a Distance from the Village. — Discussions in the Council, and favorable Result. — Sufferings from Famine.

AFTER his adoption into the family of the head sachem, every thing was pleasant and promising. Mr. Kirkland endeavored to make them understand how grateful he was for a kind reception and treatment that far surpassed his expectations. The scene, however, was soon changed, and overspread with an impenetrable gloom. He had been but a short time in his new residence, when his host died suddenly in the night, having been in perfect health the day before, and "never sick in his life." Mr. Kirkland describes, minutely and graphically, the solemn thoughts and gloomy forebodings that occupied his mind for the remainder of the night, and the scene of confusion and excitement that ensued. Early in the morning, the whole village was aroused; crowds

came pouring in to look at the corpse ; the countenances, as they turned towards Mr. Kirkland, were "very forbidding ;" and runners were despatched to six or seven villages, to communicate the tidings to the clan of the deceased, and to summon a council. The head sachem came in at a later hour in the morning, and addressed a few words of consolation to the bereaved widow, and then said to Mr. Kirkland, "A dark morning, my son ; but possess your mind in peace. It may be we shall see good by and by. You must know that the Great Spirit, in very deed, must do as he pleases." Mr. Kirkland returned with the sachem to his own house, but went over several times, in the course of the day, to see the widow, and always, when he went, looked at the corpse, "which evidently pleased and produced a favorable impression upon those present."

The next day, at noon, large numbers having assembled, they began to hold council. It soon appeared that a large party were disposed to charge the sudden death upon Mr. Kirkland, and maintained either that he wrought it himself by magic, or that it was an intimation of the displeasure of the Great Spirit at his visit and residence among them, and that he must be put to death. "My adopted father," he says, "came out of the council, before night, to speak

to me. He wished me to possess my mind in peace; assured me he should not quit the council till all was settled and done well. He smiled and appeared cheerful, or at least tried to do so; but I plainly saw that he had a weight upon his mind."

On the third day, about an hour before sunset, the corpse was interred. The funeral, however, did not interrupt the session of the council. About one hundred and fifty women and girls followed the body to the grave, but no male person except Mr. Kirkland, and one other, the grave-digger. The deceased was neatly dressed in a clean white shirt, black shroud blanket, scarlet leggins, a pair of new moccasons, his face curiously painted. His pipe, tomahawk, tobacco pouch, flint, steel, and *punk*, were put into the coffin, and placed on both sides of his head. While carrying the body to the grave, "they sang the most mournful strain of music ever heard, interspersed with the most savage yells and screams." The night of the funeral, Mr. Kirkland slept with "his elder brother," in a blockhouse formerly erected by Sir William Johnson, with the intention of stationing a company of soldiers in it, which the Senecas would not permit. Here "one of his sisters" brought him a bit of venison and a dish of samp pottage, which was very acceptable, as he had been

fasting for thirty-six hours. He perceived clearly that the family into which he had been adopted, and all his friends, felt great anxiety for his safety ; an anxiety which increased and became more apparent the next day, when "his youngest brother" put a gun into his hand, and took another himself, and, under pretence of shooting partridges, invited him to take a walk into the woods, and led him by a circuitous, zigzag course a considerable distance from the village, to a solitary sugar-hut, where they remained for several days, "one of his sisters bringing them food at night about ten o'clock."

After several days passed in this concealment, during which time he was not allowed to leave the hut, or to speak but in a very low tone, he returned to the village, the council having broken up, and its members dispersed. He was received by the whole family with marks of joy, and saluted by them and others, who came to see him, with the declaration, "All is now only peace." From this time, he took up his residence in the blockhouse, his elder brother, with his family, living there with him. He was, of course, very anxious to learn the proceedings of the council, and in what way matters had terminated, but from policy suppressed his curiosity, manifested no anxiety, and asked no questions, in the hope that some

information would be given him. But no communication was made to him, excepting that his father said to him one day, that "some Indians were afraid of writing, as it would speak for a great many years afterwards, and that, whenever he wrote to Sir William, therefore, it would be good for him to call several of the chiefs together, and interpret to them what he had written; this would please them and make their hearts glad." He understood this as said to prevent his writing to Sir William any account of the recent difficulty.

Several weeks passed before Mr. Kirkland learned any of the particulars of the proceedings of the council, and he finally obtained them, not from any of the Indians, but from a Mr. Wemp, a person of Dutch extraction, a trader among the Indians, who, on his return from Niagara, passed several days among the Senecas at this village, where he was well known and much liked, particularly by the head sachem. Mr. Kirkland made it a point not to seem much interested in Wemp's arrival, or to court his society, but took the earliest opportunity, when he could speak to him alone, to inform him of the painful and dangerous position in which he had been placed, and to request him to obtain and communicate to him some account of the proceedings of the

council. Through his long acquaintance with several of the chiefs, Wemp easily obtained the desired information, though under the injunction to say nothing to Sir William Johnson, or to Mr. Kirkland, save that "all was now peace." So far as the latter was concerned, he felt at liberty to violate this injunction, and from his communications made on four or five successive days, as they had opportunity of being together unobserved, Mr. Kirkland gives a minute account, occupying some fifteen pages of his journal, of the transactions of the council, although he says, "Mr. Wemp, while he understands the Seneca language very well for common conversation, can but poorly comprehend a public discussion, and speeches delivered in an oratorical style."

Some extracts from these speeches, especially the closing speech of the head sachem, are too curious to be omitted. The council was opened by an address from the head sachem, Mr. Kirkland's adopted father. "Brothers, this is a dark day to us; a heavy cloud has gathered over us. The cheering rays of the sun are obscured; the dim, faint light of the moon *sympathizes with us*. A great and awakening event has called us together, the sudden death of one of our best men; a great breach is made in our councils;

a living example of peace, sobriety, and industry is taken from us. Our whole town mourns, for a good man is gone. He is dead. Our white brother had lived with him a few days. Our white brother is a good young man. He loves Indians. He wishes to do them good. He comes recommended to us by Sir William Johnson, who is commissioned, by the great King beyond the waters, to be our superintendent. Brothers, attend. The Great Spirit has supreme power over life. He, the Upholder of the skies, has most certainly brought about this solemn event by his will, and without any other help, or second cause. Brothers, let us deliberate wisely; let us determine with great caution. Let us take counsel, under our great loss, with a *tender mind*. This is the best medicine, and was the way of our fathers."

After a long silence, a famous chief, Onoongwandekha, possessing great influence, and ambitious of supreme control in the councils of the Senecas, made a long and inflammatory speech, of an opposite character, in which he said, "This white skin, whom we call our brother, has come upon a dark design, or he would not have travelled so many hundred miles. He brings with him the *white people's Book*. They call it *God's Holy Book*. Broth-

ers, attend. You know this book was never made for Indians. The Great Spirit gave us a book for ourselves. He wrote it in our heads. He put it into the minds of our fathers, and gave them rules about worshipping him; and our fathers strictly observed these rules, and the Upholder of the skies was pleased, and gave them success in hunting, and made them victorious over their enemies in war. Brothers, attend. Be assured that, if we Senecas receive this white man, and attend to the book made solely for white people, we shall become miserable and abject.

“We shall soon lose the spirit of true men. The spirit of the brave warrior and the good hunter will be no more among us. We shall be sunk so low as to hoe corn and squashes in the field, chop wood, stoop down and milk cows, like the negroes among the Dutch people. Brothers, hear me. I am earnest because I love my nation and the customs and practices of our fathers; and they enjoyed pleasant and prosperous days. If we permit this white skin to live with us, and finally embrace what is written in his book, it will be the complete subversion of our national character as true men. Our ancient customs, our religious feasts and offerings, all that our fathers so strictly observed, all will be gone. Of this are we not

warned by the sudden death of our good brother and wise sachem? Does not the Upholder of the skies, the Great Spirit, plainly say to us in this, 'Hear, attend, ye Senecas. Behold, I have taken one, or permitted one to be taken, from among you in an extraordinary manner, which you cannot account for, and thereby to save the nation?' Brothers, listen to what I say. Ought not this white man's life to make satisfaction for our deceased brother's death?"

After this there was much discussion, many of the inferior chiefs expressing their minds in brief speeches, and a thorough examination of the widow of the deceased and of Mr. Kirkland's knapsack and papers. "No magic powder, however, was found among them," and the testimony of the widow was strongly in his favor. "The young white brother never did anything bad, but was always cheerful and pleasant; we had begun to love him much." "Did he never come to the bedside, and whisper in your husband's ear, or puff in his face?" "No, never; he always sat or lay down on his own bunk, and in the evening, after we were in bed, we could see him get down on his knees and talk with a low voice." This testimony, and the closing speech of the head sachem, who had kept silence since his opening ad-

dress to the council, brought matters to a favorable issue.

In this speech, after reviewing the course of the debate, and expressing his regret at many things that had been said, and his deep concern for the national honor and happiness, he said,

“Brothers, attend. Our wise fathers taught their children that the Great Spirit had in his own mind measured out the path of life to every one of mankind, to some a longer, to others a shorter path. When any one comes to the end of his path, he dies. The Great Proprietor of life knows how every man shall die. He orders it. He brings it about; sometimes by immediate causes; we can see them, and we say this or that thing brought death. A young warrior goes forth to battle, and is killed; and we say the gun, the tomahawk, or the arrow, killed him. A hunter climbs a high tree, a limb breaks, he loses his hold, falls to the ground, and is killed; and we say he was killed by the breaking of the limb. Sometimes a rattlesnake bites an Indian; he swells up and dies; we say so it happened; the snake killed him. Sometimes an Indian becomes very angry and disconsolate, so that he no longer loves his life; he goes to the swamp, finds the poison root, eats it, and before the sun

sets he is dead; and we say the poison root killed him. But can we think or say that he who owns life did not know all these things, did not decree it should be so? We see how a great many die; what little things bring them to the end of their path. But how many die, and we know nothing about the cause! We cannot tell how it happened. We know only that they are dead. They do not breathe; but the Great Spirit knows. All is decreed by the Great Spirit. This was the case with our departed brother. He had but a few steps to the end of his path, when our white brother went to lodge in his house. He must have died that very night, if this Englishman, this white skin, (as some of you call him,) had not been there, had never come among us. Some persons die instantly; I say again, *instantly*, (pronounced with great emphasis.) Our brother died so. We see nothing that helped to his death. Our fathers would have said on such an occasion, 'It is the will of the Great Spirit. Let it be as he has done.' We must say so without a murmuring word.

"Brothers, attend. Whence comes the *evil spirit* that misleads some of you? You imagine that it would be agreeable to the mind of the Upholder of the skies, the *immediate Guardian of Indians*, that our English broth-

er's life should make satisfaction for the death of our deceased brother, and then all would be peaceful and pleasant in future. Sachems and warriors, attend. I am surprised, I am grieved at my heart, I am ashamed of these suggestions; they may be the fruits of jealousy, or ignorance, or a bad heart. This young white brother was committed to our care by Sir William Johnson, who enjoined it upon us to be kind to him, to protect him from all harm, to let no evil befall him by our neglect. He came with a pure intention to do us good. Who can say he has done any bad thing since he came among us? He has never spoken one bad word of Indians. He has never been angry. He has never quarrelled with any Indian, and struck him, as some among the traders have. He is cheerful and pleasant, and appears to love us already, as though he were one of our very nation. He has told me, (and I can understand him pretty well,) that, before he began to learn *books*, the Great Spirit put it into his heart to love Indians, and pity them, and that, as soon as he had learned all the books necessary, he should give himself up to the Great Spirit to work for him among Indians; and in a short time he will become *God's man*, and it will behove us to take care how we treat him. Who among us can lift up his hand to kill an innocent man?

I should rather die myself than wish to live, and see the evils that would befall our nation, should we do this wrong. Brothers, listen. I have but a word more to say. Hearken, I beseech you, to my advice. Repent, and correct what has been amiss in some of your talks, and never let the white people know, and especially Sir William Johnson, all and everything that has passed in this council. Bury the hatchet deep in the ground, with all jealousy and animosity against our white brother."

This closing speech of the head sachem bore down all opposition. No reply was made. His advice was assented to by all but a small minority of fifteen, and, after a general shout of applause, "which made the council house ring," the head sachem said, "Our business is done. I rake up the council fire."

After the dispersion of the council, and Mr. Kirkland's return to the village, he lived in great harmony, friendship, and sociability. "I had nothing to fear," he says, "but my own heart, lest I should offend and dishonor a great cause, and a holy God, whom I am permitted to attempt to serve in sincerity and truth." Towards the last of March, he had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Sir William Johnson, enclosing two from Joseph Woolley, whom he had left as schoolmaster among the Mohawks.

The character of Woolley's letters, which were, in fact, filled with complaints and requests, may be judged of by the following passage in Mr. Kirkland's answer.

"How I could have left you better, or done more for you, I confess I do not see. I left you among the most civilized Indians in all these parts, in the care of the best man in the nation, who said you should not suffer unless he did. I also left you a small matter of money, in case of sickness, or any extraordinary accident. Of all these advantages I was myself wholly deprived. Without the company of any Englishman, or interpreter, I went a much greater distance into the wilderness, and among a nation the most savage and barbarous of any upon the continent. When I quitted the Dutch settlements on the Mohawk River, I had not a single penny for my support, was entirely dependent upon the natives and my convoy, except a little provision carried on my back. You will pardon my freedom. I only wish to convince you that I have done as much and more for you than for myself. You write me for Bohea tea, coffee, powder, shirts, &c. I should advise you rather to make use of those teas, which nature has provided for us in the wilderness, such as pine buds, sassafras blows, bark of spice wood, and chips from the heart of the

sugar maple. These are more friendly to our constitutions than foreign teas. For my part, I carried no tea, except one or two drawings, no wine, or rum, for the sake of example. However, I shall procure for you, from below, some tea, powder, and shirts. Pray, what should you think of getting a leather shirt and Indian breeches, while you reside among them? It will be no disgrace to your character or color. It will help much to lessen expense, and it certainly behoves us to use the utmost frugality. Disgrace or no disgrace, I am about doing it for myself."

This letter to Woolley, as well as others to Sir William, Dr. Wheelock, and other friends, Mr. Kirkland sent down by Mr. Wemp, but was obliged to follow himself in a few weeks to escape starvation. He was soon indeed exposed to the most severe sufferings from this source. As early as the 15th of March, he wrote in his journal, "Provisions are exceeding scarce. The appearance of things at present seems to threaten a famine among the Indians the ensuing season." On the 7th of April, he writes, that he "had sold a shirt for four Indian cakes baked in the ashes, which he could have devoured at one meal, but on the score of prudence ate only one." About the middle of April, he writes, "Our sufferings for want of necessary and sub-

stantial food have been very trying, and I have been surprised at the fine health I have enjoyed, except being a little emaciated, with some loss of bodily strength." His sufferings subsequently became more severe. At one time, he was obliged to live several days on white oak acorns, fried in bear's grease. This brought on a violent attack of colic, so violent, that for some hours he himself entirely despaired of getting relief; this was obtained at last, however, through the help of three gills of old and refined bear's grease, which his "grandmother," the head sachem's mother, an old woman of ninety, who, hearing of his illness, walked half a mile to see him, and watch with him over night, insisted upon his drinking. There was no corn. White oak acorns, suitable for food, could not easily be found. Game was scarce at that season of the year, and the little they killed they were obliged to husband very carefully. It was often kept till it "almost came to life again," and, what was worse, had to be eaten in that state.

"Perhaps," he says, "it would offend a delicate stomach, if I should describe the following dish presented to me one evening, with a double allowance, being considered as a stranger; but my stomach has made the experiment very effectually. One day, as my sister and

kind landlady was cutting up junks of bear's meat, and putting them into the kettle to make a soup, I observed a number of white animalculæ fall to the floor and scamper about like lusty fellows. I said nothing, but thought the more. I heard her whisper to her husband, that she was afraid their white brother could not eat it. In the dusk of the evening, a large bowl containing three or four quarts, with a junk of meat on a bark, instead of a table and a plate, with half a spoonful of salt on one side, was brought to me. I looked upon it. The soup white and frothy. I viewed the meat. The cravings of my appetite, and the disgusting aspect of the dish prepared for my refreshment, forced tears from my eyes. I thought of Jacob's cattle, which were spotted, and speckled, and ring-streaked, probably *green streaks*; and of the apostle Peter, who could make the declaration that nothing common or unclean had at any time entered into his mouth. I strove to conceal my feelings from the family, of course. I sat upon my bunk, at the back side of the house. I filled my wooden spoon, shut my eyes, and made an effort to swallow a pint or more. I then examined the piece of meat to find a place where I might cut some out, between the streaks, or mortified parts. I made out to swallow more than I

at first expected, seasoning it plentifully with salt, and with tears, which would now and then roll down my cheeks, and drop into my spoon, as though they would sympathize with me."

CHAPTER IV.

Determines on an Expedition to Johnson Hall for Provisions. — Incident at Fort Bennington. — Storm on Oneida Lake. — Arrival at Johnson Hall. — Sickness and Death of his adopted Brother's Wife. — Kindness of Sir William Johnson. — Return to the Seneca Country. — In Danger from the Enmity of an Indian Chief. — Close of his Journal. — Visits New England. — Reception at Hartford.

TOWARDS the last of April, the want of provisions became so pressing, and the prospect of starvation so imminent, that he resolved upon an expedition by water, the streams being high, to Sir William Johnson's, in company with Tekanada (his brother, with whom he resided,) and his family. A new bark canoe was built for the purpose, which accommodated the party, two men, two women, three

boys and girls, and one young child, and luggage. The expedition was full of danger and difficulty, especially to persons so worn down by famine and anxiety of mind as they were. It was in the end, however, successfully accomplished, with some amusing and some painful incidents. At Fort Bennington, at the west end of Oneida Lake, he waited upon the commanding officer, who kindly received him, and immediately despatched provisions to his party in the canoe, and invited Mr. Kirkland to partake of some refreshments in his own quarters.

“I must relate,” he says, “a circumstance of my weakness, and of the candor and kindness of this officer. A bowl of rice soup, and the greater part of a leg of venison, were set before me. I had previously declined taking any kind of ardent spirits, and chose only water for my drink. I began moderately upon the soup, and then cut a slice of the venison. My appetite soon became raging. I cut one slice after another, and felt that I should not be satisfied after devouring all that was on the table. The officer, observing the violence of my appetite, said, with a pleasant air, ‘Mr. Kirkland, you have been upon a very short allowance for some time, and on the point of starvation. I should advise you to eat but

half a meal now, and come in towards evening, and take a cup of tea.' I was in too weak and excited a state to comprehend. I replied with warmth, 'Sir, I am willing to pay for what I eat.' Poor man! I had not a farthing of money. He replied, he wanted no pay. He would feed me with pleasure till night, if it would do me no injury; but he had known what hunger was, and that it was best for a person in my situation to eat sparingly at first, and that he addressed me as he did from pure friendship and commiseration. I instantly dropped my knife and fork, and came to myself; apologized for my rudeness, and thanked him, with tears in my eyes, for his great kindness."

In crossing Oneida Lake, they were overtaken by a sudden and violent hurricane, and narrowly escaped a watery grave. They were further out on the lake than they had ventured before, having determined to steer a straight course for the Royal Blockhouse, at the eastern end of the lake, which was in sight about twelve miles distant. They altered their course, and made directly for the nearest point of the northern shore, about five miles from them. The canoe sprang a leak in several places, and with crowding in blankets to stop the leak, and baling, they could with difficulty

keep her afloat. Tekanada "turned pale, and untying a squirrel skin, which contained sacred or magic powder, took two pinches, and, casting them upon the waters, cried out with earnestness, and in an elevated voice, 'Now, wind, do your best! Do your best, I say! You cannot conquer now.' The wind increased, the danger grew more imminent, and he cried out, 'Brother, pray to your God now. Pray to your God; Jesus you call him; perhaps he will save us; we are in the utmost danger of perishing.' I answered that I was praying, and had been all the time. He cried out again, 'I do not hear your voice.' I was obliged to speak in an audible voice, and attempt to address that Being who can command the winds and the waves, and they obey him." Half an hour afterwards, they safely reached the shore, "the bark cords with which she was sewed giving way, and the canoe falling to pieces the moment they struck the beach."

Mr. Kirkland was under some apprehension as to the light in which Tekanada would now regard him. He said nothing till they had made a fire, and dried their clothes, and partaken of some fish broth. Then, in the dusk of the evening, as they were sitting round the fire, he related to them the story of Jesus on the Lake of Gennesaret, and spoke "feelingly

and affectionately " of the great deliverance they had experienced, and of the gratitude they ought to feel to the Great Spirit, and his Son Jesus, who once bid the winds to cease, and there was a great calm. Tekanada replied, " My young white brother, we have indeed had a narrow pass by the gate of death. I was never in such danger before. I never knew the time before when the *sacred powder* did not calm the violence of the wind. I thought it might be because I had a white man on board. I thought that the Great Spirit would not hear, unless the white man prayed in his own language; and it really seemed as though he did hear, for we got speedily to shore. I am not sorry now you were on board to pray for us; therefore possess your mind in peace."

This exposure on Oneida Lake had a visible effect upon the health of Tekanada's wife, who, far from well before, declined from that time. When they reached Sir William Johnson's, in the early part of May, she was quite sick, "having considerable fever and a bad cough." The party encamped, at a pleasant and convenient spot, on the banks of the Mohawk, some two or three miles from Johnson Hall. Here Tekanada built as commodious a cabin, or lodge, as he could, and

here Mr. Kirkland, visiting Sir William only occasionally in the daytime, continued to reside with him, that he might aid him in the care of his family, and particularly in rendering any attention in his power to his wife, who was fast sinking into the grave; a course of conduct, of which Sir William said, "he did not know which to admire most, its benevolence and compassion, or its good policy as regarded future comfort and usefulness among the Senecas." Mr. Kirkland was so much changed, that, at their first interview, Sir William's salutation was, "Good God, Mr. Kirkland, you look like a whipping post." Every comfort and relief that Johnson Hall afforded was despatched to Tekanada's cabin; but "about eighteen days after our arrival," he writes, "my adopted sister died, I suppose by what the physicians would call quick consumption, and was decently buried in an orchard near to our encampment. Tekanada did not attend, but remained solitary in his hut."

Preparations were now made for their immediate return. Mr. Kirkland was supplied, on Dr. Wheelock's orders, with such necessities as he might want the ensuing season. Sir William Johnson lent him a new blanket, "on condition he would never return it," and

presented to him a second hand bateau, which would transport the party and their provisions and luggage more safely and comfortably than a bark canoe.

The return passage up the streams was very difficult and tedious, Mr. Kirkland often working "for many hours waist high in water, to get the bateau up a rapid. His poor, bereaved brother, naturally a person of great sensibility, appeared like the image of death, and was unable to do his part." They reached Kanadasegea on the 29th of June, where their return was hailed "with expressions of joy, intermingled with many tears."

Mr. Kirkland describes minutely the mourning ceremonies that were had in honor of Tekanada's wife, for whom he himself was considered a deep and heartfelt mourner, because, while he took no part in them, he made no opposition to their customs, but sat on a log near by, and observed them in profound silence; and when they were informed that he had lived, not at Johnson Hall, but in Tekanada's hut, during the sickness of his wife, and never left it a single night, they said, "it was a certain sign of a good man." This circumstance greatly ingratiated him in their esteem, and he was treated with the utmost

kindness by all the inhabitants of the village.

For some time, matters went very pleasantly. He had acquired such knowledge of the language, as to hold common conversation with ease; had learned the way to several little villages and hamlets, and found himself welcomed, and treated in the most friendly manner, everywhere in the neighborhood. His peace, however, was again disturbed by his old enemy in the council, the famous chief, Onongwadeka, who came to Kanadasegea to excite some of the young warriors to join him in an expedition against the Cherokees. But they generally declined to join him. He attributed this to the influence of Mr. Kirkland, who, he said, "had poisoned the minds of the young warriors with white people's notions." The attempts of the head sachem and other chiefs to pacify him, only increased his rage. He insisted that Mr. Kirkland's continuance would be the destruction of the nation, and gave it out as his fixed purpose to put him to death, if he did not go away. This purpose, however, he seemed to abandon, and in a few days left the village. This was only a stratagem. Mr. Kirkland, feeling at ease, resumed his habits of visiting the neighborhood.

One day, having been on a visit to a dis-

tinguished Indian, "the best orator in the nation," who lived on the other side of the lake, he was returning towards evening, "trotting along on his pony, and singing hymns," when, just after he had passed the outlet of the lake, having the lake shore on his left hand, he saw, a little in advance of him, and a rod or two from the path, on his right, an Indian picking the flint of his gun behind a clump of bushes. He saw that this Indian was one of Onongwadeka's troop, a sort of lieutenant, or second in command under him, and knew him to be of a fierce and malignant disposition, capable of any deed of savage cruelty and violence. He was convinced at once, therefore, that he was there with some evil intent against himself. He determined, however, not to betray any consciousness of this, and therefore continued his singing, till, as he came up even with him, the Indian called out to him to stop. Mr. Kirkland instantly replied, purposely appearing to misunderstand him, "I have been the other side of the lake," and continued to trot on. Glancing over his shoulder as well as he could without turning his head much, he saw the Indian raise his gun to his shoulder, and instantly afterwards heard the snap of the lock. "The idea," he says, "of two Americans who were killed here by the Indians and buried on

the lake shore, and my expectation of being instantly shot in my back, without any means of defence, gave me very lively feelings, which I never could describe. This trying scene made such an impression upon my mind, that, for several years after, I could not relate it without its producing a visible effect upon my whole nervous system." In a few moments, the Indian called out to him again to stop. Mr. Kirkland pretended not to hear him, and the sound of the click of the lock again reached him. He writes, "I set my horse out upon the full run. I looked back just as I was entering the woods, which led from the lake to that part of the village where I resided, and —" Here the manuscript ends.

Mr. Kirkland, during the last years of his life, was strongly urged by his children to prepare a memoir of himself that should embrace the most important incidents of his interesting and eventful life, and embody his extensive and accurate knowledge of the Indian character, customs, and habits. In the execution of this purpose, or the preparation and arrangement of materials, from which others might execute it, he began to write out from memory, and from scattered memoranda among his papers, a journal of his residence among the Senecas. He had written about eighty

pages, covering four out of the sixteen months which he passed among them, when he was arrested by the hand of death, leaving the sentence with which the foregoing extract closes unfinished. The questions which naturally arise, whether the Indian pursued him, and how he escaped, cannot now be satisfactorily answered. The tradition in the family, in relation to this incident, attributes his safety to the strength and sagacity of his Indian pony.

It is to be greatly regretted that Mr. Kirkland did not begin earlier, or live longer, that he might have completed a journal of his life, upon the plan of the fragment he has left of his residence among the Senecas. It would have been a very interesting and valuable historical document, and would have given us a knowledge of the Six Nations, "the noble Iroquois," of their characters, habits, manners and customs, and of the part they played in the wars and struggles, which took place on this continent, during the last half of the last century, more ample and minute than can now be gathered from any other sources. No other white man, save Sir William Johnson, lived so long among them, had more influence over them, or was better acquainted with their character and history.

There is, indeed, among his papers, an immense mass of letters and journals, but it is often difficult to arrange these in their proper order ; impossible sometimes to ascertain their connection, and thus make them the materials of a connected biography, or of any great service as illustrations of Indian history. There are also many gaps and blanks, that cannot now be filled up, especially during the revolutionary war, the years that intervened between 1773 and 1783, when Mr. Kirkland's labors, and the scenes and events in which he took part as an Indian missionary, a chaplain in the Continental army, and sometimes a confidential Indian agent of the Continental Congress, were interesting and important.

After the close of the journal above referred to, little of the particulars of Mr. Kirkland's further residence of ten months among the Senecas can be ascertained. Among his papers are only three letters relating to this period, of which one is from Sir William Johnson, and another from his father, who writes, under date of October 18th, 1765, "I have just received yours of August 8th, per Mr. Occum. I was yesterday with the Board of Correspondents sitting at Dr. Joshua Lothrop's. It comforteth me much to find the Gentlemen Commissioners so concerned for you.

Their prayers went up to Heaven for your safety, and our hearts pour out thanksgivings for the divine protection experienced amid so many perils. May it please the Lord Jesus, the great Head of the church, to furnish you with all gifts and graces, sufficient for the arduous yet honorary employ, to which you are called. May it please God to spare you and us, your aged parents, that we may have a visit from you in the spring. Let us, as you express in your last, live in an entire resignation to the will of God."

The letter of Sir William Johnson is of a later date, March 9th, 1766, and though it enters into no particulars, it contains remarks and references, which show that, while Mr. Kirkland had taken hold of the affections, and gained an influence over a considerable portion of the Senecas, he was yet exposed to much annoyance and danger from the machinations of the unfriendly. His visit to New England is spoken of as a visit, and not as a relinquishment of his mission among them. He himself says, in a letter to Dr. Wheelock, April 17th, 1766, "I shall set out for New England in the beginning of May. I am not yet fully satisfied what is duty in regard to my immediate return. The plan you have laid out for execution is very large, and

requires much consideration, and a strict examination into the state of affairs here. I am sorry so much depends upon my return, or an answer from me." He left the Senecas in May, 1766, and it is clear from his letter to Dr. Wheelock in the April previous, that, at this time, the abandonment of his mission among them was not fully determined upon. He arrived at Lebanon on the 19th of that month, accompanied by one of the Seneca chiefs, his brother Tekanada. They reached Hartford while the General Assembly was in session, and received distinguished attention from "the Governor and Company." To the Seneca chief, "the governor delivered a speech, and received his answer, (Mr. Kirkland being their interpreter,) much to the satisfaction and admiration of the whole Assembly: After this, they made them a present of twenty pounds. The black general was much affected by their kindness and respect, and marvelled much to find the country so peopled." *

* Wheelock's *Memoirs*, p. 270.

CHAPTER V.

Ordination at Lebanon. — Proceeds to Oneida. — Character and Condition of that Tribe. — His Success. — Visits New England, and is married to Dr. Wheelock's Niece. — Difficulties with Dr. Wheelock. — Refutes the Charges made against him. — Thornton's Advice upon the Subject of Differences between Friends and Ministers of the Gospel.

ON the 19th of June, just one month after his return from the Senecas, Mr. Kirkland was ordained at Lebanon; "and a solemn assembly we had on that occasion," writes Dr. Wheelock to Mr. Whitefield. On the same day, he received from the Connecticut Board of Correspondents of the Society in Scotland, a general commission, as an Indian missionary, in the following form. The original, being an engraved impression on parchment, is preserved among his papers.

"Be it known to all people by these presents, that the Board of Correspondents, in the Colony of Connecticut, New England, appointed and commissioned by the Honorable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, (by their commission given

under the common seal of the aforesaid Society, signed by James Smeller, Præses of the Committee of Directors, and Alexander Stevenson, Clerk of the Society at Edinburgh, the 13th of March, A. D. 1764; which Society was legally incorporated by royal charter, in the eighth year of Queen Anne, A. D. 1710; and afterwards enlarged, and extended to the Colonies and Plantations in America, anno quarto Georgii Primi,)

“Do authorize, ordain, and appoint the Reverend Samuel Kirkland a missionary among the heathen and ignorant people in North America.” The commission then directs him, as he has ability and opportunity, to instruct, teach, and preach the gospel to the Indian tribes and others, as he should find occasion, wherever the providence of God should call him; “and we do invest the said Reverend Samuel Kirkland with all the powers, immunities, and privileges belonging to a missionary, employed and commissioned by the Corresponding Commissioners of the Honorable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; and as the said Reverend Samuel Kirkland goes forth under the protection of their royal charter, it is desired and expected none will presume to molest or disquiet him in the prosecution of his

office, but afford him all needful encouragement and assistance therein.

“Signed and sealed by order and in the name of the Board of Correspondents, at Lebanon, the 19th day of June, A. D. 1766.

“ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, *Secretary.*”

It was at this period, after having been ordained and invested with this commission, and while consulting with friends, how and where to act under it, that Mr. Kirkland had the interview referred to, in the early pages of this memoir, with Whitefield and Mr. Kirkpatrick. With this new commission, and guided, probably, more by his own judgment and knowledge, than by the advice of those who had never left the white settlements, Mr. Kirkland started on his new mission on the 7th of July. He took up his residence among the Oneidas, at Kanonwalahale, their principal village, about twenty miles west of the Mohawk River, and fifteen south of the eastern end of Oneida Lake. Dr. Wheelock's “large plan,” of which Mr. Kirkland speaks in his letter above quoted, was probably embraced in this general commission; but the precise objects and details of that plan cannot now be ascertained. Much of his correspondence with Dr. Wheelock, at this period, would give the im-

pression, that while his personal labors were confined chiefly to the Oneidas, Mr. Kirkland was expected to take a general supervision and charge of all the missionary operations conducted by the Board of Correspondents among the Six Nations. This was probably the fact, and the Oneidas were selected as his residence and immediate field of labor, because of their central position in reference to the other nations of the confederacy, and because of their being in some respects in a better state of preparation for a missionary to work among them with success.

Another consideration, that had influence with him, was his intimate acquaintance with the Oneidas, having always passed some time with them in going to and from the Seneca country, and the strong personal friendship that already began to subsist between himself and some of their chiefs. He regarded the Oneidas in moral qualities as the noblest of the Six Nations, and altogether the most susceptible of religious impressions. The name of their tribe had its origin in a religious custom or festival. Oneida signifies the *upright stone*.

There is still standing in the township of Westmoreland, a few miles from the old Oneida castle, an upright stone or rock, of considerable size, rising a few feet from the ground, which

tradition, and without doubt correctly, points out as their national altar. Here, in the days of their paganism, from time immemorial, they were accustomed every year to assemble to worship the Great Spirit, and hold a solemn religious festival. However scattered, to whatever distance carried by their expeditions in war or hunting, this holy pilgrimage was never omitted. Hence their name, the Oneidas, "the tribe of the upright stone," the tribe returning to worship around the upright stone.

Mr. Kirkland commenced his missionary labors among them about the 1st of August, 1766, and continued those labors with but occasional interruptions for more than forty years. In the early period of his mission, the perils to which he was exposed, the sacrifices he had to make, the hardships and sufferings he had to undergo, were similar to those he had already endured among the Senecas. Determined to make this the permanent scene and centre of his efforts to introduce the gospel and Christian civilization among the Indians, he saw the necessity of providing for himself a place of residence. "Through constant and very hard labor for upwards of seventy days," as he writes Dr. Wheelock, in November, 1766, he succeeded in building himself a house, digging the cellar, cutting, hewing, and drawing the timber

with his own hands. Here he established himself; David Fowler and his wife Hannai, two Christian Indians, who had been educated at Dr. Wheelock's school, keeping house for him *

At the commencement of his labors, a serious obstacle opposed itself to his influence in the determination of the Six Nations to make an expedition against the Cherokees. Still his early success was encouraging. "Many," he writes to Dr. Wheelock, in the letter already quoted, "appear to have a hearing ear and an understanding heart, and to be earnestly engaged for religion." A remarkable instance of his influence is given in a letter of Dr. Wheelock's to the Reverend Mr. Whitaker, dated April 16th, 1767.

"Four days ago," he writes, "Mr. Kirkland arrived. His state of health is better than it was. He seems at last fully convinced that he must for a while abate of his labors and fatigues, or soon quit the whole service. The account he gives is in the main very agreeable. At present there is a great reformation

* David Fowler, of the Delaware tribe by birth, acted for many years as a schoolmaster among the Oneidas. He died in 1812, one of the most excellent men in the nation, preserving his Christian character unblemished to the end.

among them as to their morals; there have been but two drunk belonging to that town since December 13th, and one of them was the only one of that town who opposed Mr. Kirkland's measures. On that day, Mr. Kirkland, after many unsuccessful attempts to put a stop to that vice, called the town together, and told them, if they would all of them, men and women, old and young, agree and solemnly engage to leave off their drunkenness, and enable him to put such determination in execution, by appointing six or eight of their chief men, to be with and assist him therein, with full power to seize all intoxicating liquor and destroy it, or dispose of it as he should think proper, he would tarry with them, otherwise he would leave them. Therefore, after four days' consideration, they unanimously appointed eight, whom Mr. Kirkland nominated, who have been very officious and faithful in the affair. And the success of this step has been such, that, notwithstanding about eighty kegs or casks of rum have since that time been carried through that town and offered for sale and in a number of instances offered freely as a present, and their acceptance strongly urged, yet they have never in one instance been prevailed upon to accept it; sturdily replying,

when urged to it, 'It is contrary to the minister's word, and our agreement with him.' " *

This account Dr. Wheelock had from Mr. Kirkland's own lips, during a visit which he made to New England in the spring of 1767. The next year, on the 13th of August, he writes to the Misses Warkman, "I now rejoice that I am able to tell you, that, through the blessing of God upon a preached gospel, among the savages at Oneida, there has been for some months past, and still continues to be, a glorious work of God's grace. In that dark corner, which a few months ago was a habitation of cruelty and gross paganism, there is now a blessed nest of Christians, and such as were not God's people must now, in the judgment of Christian charity, be called the children of God. There, in their little, despicable, bark huts, the true God is now worshipped in spirit and truth, and the poor, greasy, lousy, half-starved creatures are from day to day fed with the hidden manna, and a number of them rejoicing with joy unspeakable." Much of the fruit of this early success among the Oneidas was permanent. Many, individuals and families, converted at this time to the Christian faith, continued firm, adorning their profession

* Wheelock's *Memoirs*, p. 274.

by lives of sobriety, industry, integrity, and piety. They became the steadfast friends, defenders, and supporters of Mr. Kirkland, his "helpers in Christ Jesus," throughout his whole missionary career, cherishing ever a profound and grateful reverence for his character, rendering valuable aid amid the difficulties and opposition he from time to time encountered in his efforts to introduce the influences of Christian truth, and the blessings of Christian civilization, among the Indians.

Notwithstanding this success, he had "many crosses, afflictions, and troubles, to encounter," of which he gives a long and graphic description in one of his letters to Dr. Wheelock, and among those of a personal nature he mentions the following.

"My extreme poverty and lowly way of living greatly hurt my character and influence with the Indians. They begin to look upon me as a poor, worthless fellow, who cannot get a living anywhere else, or I should not come here and live so much like a negro as I do; at the same time, they conceive a mean opinion of the design, as not worthy any expense. True, I have lived more like a dog than a Christian minister the greater part of the time I have resided in the wilderness. Many a time would I have begged upon my knees for a bone

I have often seen flung to a dog. My hard labor and fatigues have sorely broken my nature. If I should live any considerable time, I have no reason to expect a sound, robust constitution. I have not slept a night these ten months free from pain in my bones, and lately a settled pain in my breast."

In another letter, a few months later, he says, "Another thing is perhaps a good omen. My name is cast out as evil. I have all manner of evil, as I think, falsely spoken against me." He regarded this as evidence of his fidelity, and attributes it principally to his having "a little disoblged several very inhuman, cruel, and unrighteous traders, whose constant aim is to destroy the poor Indians, as fast as possible. Their unchristian conduct is quite beyond the conception of a New England Christian. They are called Dutch Christians; there are some Irish and English among them." In giving a further account of the opposition made to his efforts by some of them, he says, "I rejoyce that I am counted worthy to suffer a little for Christ's sake. 'Tis sweet to be without any name, only in Christ; but I find I am in great danger of pride on the one hand, and despondency on the other. The devil has tried for three years to starve me to death. When he found he could not

kill me with famine, he took up the sword. Defeated there, he takes up the old weapons with redoubled force, pride and despondency. I have got sight of him. May the Lord enable me to watch."

Early in the year 1769, he received the first evidence that had ever reached him, that his character and services were favorably known and regarded beyond the circle of his own and Dr. Wheelock's immediate friends in Connecticut. This came in the shape of a letter, dated London, November 12th, 1768, informing him that, at the last meeting of the Board of Trustees, the following minute, relating to himself, was entered upon the record, and signed by all the trustees.

"The Board, having taken into consideration the eminent services and painful labors of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Kirkland, one of the missionaries employed by Dr. Wheelock among the Indians, and the difficulties he has undergone in the prosecution of that employment, are of opinion that the sum of one hundred pounds sterling be allowed him, to provide himself with necessaries, before he engages in further services." Dr. Wheelock was authorized to draw on John Thornton for this amount. About the same time, the Reverend James Baine, of Scotland, "having, from

good authority, a most savory account of the uncommon labor of love and hardships in his Master's service of the Indian missionary, Mr. Samuel Kirkland," sent him thirty pounds, through the Reverend Mr. Rodgers,* of New York. In acknowledging Mr. Baine's donation, in a letter dated January 25th, 1769, he says, "Language would fail to express the grateful emotions of my heart. I had for several months earnestly desired, if it might be the will of God, to have it in my power to relieve the necessities of several orphans among the dear, though tawny people of my charge, and one or two Christian friends and relations, with some of my own exigencies. You may be assured, Reverend Sir, that your liberality shall be faithfully improved, according to the best of my ability and judgment. This will be not only the first thirty pounds, but the first thirty shillings, I ever had, that I might in any sense call my own, except a few dollars given me last spring by the liberality of some friends in Boston, to procure books. I have never had any salary since I embarked in this arduous but glorious cause, nor ever asked for one. I have the testimony

* A Presbyterian clergyman, of some celebrity, who had recently been driven from Virginia because of his efforts to introduce Presbyterianism into that Episcopal colony.

of my conscience, with four years' experience, (notwithstanding the reproach and censure I am obliged to receive from the men of the world,) that I was not induced to enter this design of Christianizing the heathen from pecuniary motives or worldly views. Dr. Wheelock has supplied me from time to time, as Providence handed in to him. But I may perhaps think it my duty to petition for a settled support, as it is thought advisable and expedient that I soon enter a family state."

During the spring of 1769, Mr. Kirkland's health failed rapidly, and his constitution seemed to be seriously impaired by suffering and exposure. A respite from his labors was necessary. As he had gathered and organized among the Indians at Oneida a regular Christian church, it was deemed important to keep up the administration of the gospel and its ordinances during his absence. On the 30th of May, therefore, the Board of Correspondents in Connecticut appointed Mr. Thomas Huntington to supply his place during his visit to New England, and Mr. Levi Frisbie to keep the school. Mr. Kirkland left his post the latter part of June, and passed the remainder of the summer with his friends in Connecticut. His health was much benefited by this rest and recreation.

Mr. Kirkland, having been now several years among the Indians, had long felt the need of a companionship in his solitude, and a helpmate in his labors. His heart, it seems, had already made choice of its object ; for as early as February, 1767, he writes to Dr. Wheelock, " I thank you, Reverend Sir, for the frequent mention of a *certain name* in your letters, which is very agreeable in this rough, unhewn part of the world ; and I can assure you the *person* would be much more so, were I in a proper situation for *the sweetest joy of life*. But farewell to that for the present. I am as poor as a church mouse, and can hardly support myself." The necessity which thus compelled him to wait being partially removed, on the 19th of September, 1769, he was married to Jerusha Bingham, a niece of Dr. Wheelock.

This lady was the daughter of a respectable farmer in Windham, Connecticut, who had married Dr. Wheelock's sister. She had been educated in her uncle's family, and had diligently improved all the advantages for intellectual and moral cultivation, which were there afforded her. She was a woman of uncommon energy of character, of sterling good sense, a clear and vigorous understanding, and a devout heart. Her long residence with her

uncle had imbued her with a deep and lively interest in the great cause in which he and his friends were so earnestly engaged, "the gospelizing of the Indians." She was, therefore, in every respect, well qualified to be Mr. Kirkland's partner, to help him and share with him in the labors and sacrifices of a mission to the Indians.

Shortly after his marriage, he returned to his post and his duties among the Oneidas, accompanied by Mrs. Kirkland. As it was necessary to enlarge or rebuild his log house, making it sixteen instead of ten feet square, Mrs. Kirkland remained at the German Flats, on the Mohawk, in the family of General Herkimer, till these alterations were completed, in the latter part of December, when she went up to Oneida, and took possession of her new home, where her arrival had been anxiously expected, and was cordially welcomed by all the friendly and Christian Indians. Her influence was immediately felt, and was extensive and beneficial in introducing order, neatness, industry, purity, and a devout spirit among the women of the nation; and from this period to the commencement among the Indians of the troubles, which preceded the revolutionary war, Mr. Kirkland's labors were accompanied by as great and abun-

dant success as was ever granted to an Indian missionary. During this period, the Lord's day was observed with strictness among the Oneidas, intoxication was very rare, and many were added to the church. The Christian character and civilized habits and condition of many families among the Oneidas now residing at Green Bay, in Wisconsin, date back to this period, and have thus descended through two or three generations.

For some months previously to Mr. Kirkland's visit to New England, difficulties had existed between himself and Dr. Wheelock. The prevalent impression has been, that these difficulties related exclusively to pecuniary matters. Such does not seem to have been the fact. They originated in a misunderstanding between Mr. Kirkland and Dr. Wheelock's son, who visited Oneida and other missionary posts among the Six Nations in 1767 and the year following. The nature of this misunderstanding, and the causes of it, do not appear from any of his papers in possession of the writer. They are repeatedly referred to as contained in a private letter from Mr. Kirkland, a copy of which he either did not make, or subsequently destroyed. That this misunderstanding, however, was the real cause of the dissolution of his connection

with Dr. Wheelock, is manifest from his whole correspondence with him and with others. His friend, the Reverend C. J. Smith, writes to him from Virginia, on the 17th of January, 1770, "I sympathize with you under the severe trial occasioned by the unhappy misunderstanding between you and young Mr. Wheelock. If it can possibly be avoided, do not dissolve your connection with the dear school; it may prove fatal to it; yet, if your character, and of consequence your usefulness, are endangered, and justice denied you, it must be done; but then proceed with your usual prudence, coolness, tenderness, and deliberation."

Mr. Kirkland himself, in a letter to Dr. Wheelock, written in the early part of 1770, (at which period the spirit of mutual recrimination, that marks their correspondence, is not much to the credit of either party,) says, commenting upon one of his letters, and addressing him in the third person, "The doctor seems here to intimate as though I had made a great noise and bustle about a salary, and that had occasioned the difference between us. I never said the reverend doctor was against, or unwilling to give me a salary, nor did I ever hear the like from him. True, I have said, and I think, the doctor

has been very backward with respect to my support, and somewhat changeable, as will appear by-and-by. I was informed that his son had said before several persons, 'Mr. Kirkland is to have no salary; *we* think it best to keep him dependent.' But whether this was really true, or not, I cannot say; neither do I care. I never said much about a salary one way or the other, nor have I ever been much concerned about it. The chief concern and distress of mind was a disaffection taking place between the reverend doctor and me in consequence of the misunderstanding and variance between his son and me."

Mr. Kirkland undoubtedly felt that he had some grounds of complaint in regard to pecuniary matters. In the letter just quoted above, he shows that Dr. Wheelock, as early as January, 1769, was authorized, by the Board in London, to fix whatever annual sum would be sufficient to support him independently of the Indians, in order to their granting the same, and that the doctor, after being assured by Mr. Kirkland that he was not only satisfied, but rejoiced that this matter of salary was thus committed wholly to one who knew so well his situation and circumstances, had for more than a year neglected to fix the annual sum, or

to inform the London Board of the amount which he thought it reasonable and proper they should appropriate for his support.

But all these pecuniary difficulties might easily have been arranged, probably, but for the misunderstanding and variance between Mr. Kirkland and young Mr. Wheelock. In the absence of direct proof, a probable conjecture as to the cause of this misunderstanding is, that it had its source in a spirit of rivalry, the assumption of some authority on the part of young Mr. Wheelock, and a desire to keep Mr. Kirkland dependent. By his devotion to the cause of Indian missions, the perils and hardships he had encountered, the courage and prudence he had displayed, and the success which had attended his labors, Mr. Kirkland had gained an honorable reputation both in this country and in England. Many flattering letters were addressed to him by distinguished individuals, more especially by John Thornton and other gentlemen connected with the Board of Trust in London.

He was even spoken of and consulted upon the subject of his being the successor of Dr. Wheelock in the charge of Moor's Indian Charity School, which was now about to be enlarged and established in a new spot, upon

a broader foundation, through the funds raised for the purpose in England. Why Mr. Kirkland was consulted upon this subject, does not appear. Perhaps Dr. Wheelock, either from an unwillingness to dissolve his connection with his parish at Lebanon, or from a feeling, that, as he was now considerably past the prime of life, some younger man would be better suited to the arduous and responsible duties, had signified some intention to resign his office. However this may be, the fact is clear, that even the trustees of the school had at one time Mr. Kirkland in view as Dr. Wheelock's successor. He himself speaks of it in a letter addressed to him in the early part of the winter of 1768. "As to the proposal of the honorable trust, of my being nominated your successor, I think proper that you immediately discourage and discountenance the thing. My abilities are altogether unequal to the task, and my grace less than nothing. I should not dare even to entertain the thought; as soon run my hand into the fire." This office young Mr. Wheelock wished for, and in his own mind had already appropriated it to himself. Here, perhaps, may be found the secret and real cause of "the misunderstanding and variance" between himself and Mr. Kirkland.

But whether this conjecture be well founded or not, it was at length felt by both parties, after two years' unpleasant correspondence, that their connection had better be dissolved. Dr. Wheelock himself consented to and approved of it. Accordingly, early in October, 1770, Mr. Kirkland went to Boston, and, through Mr. Andrew Oliver, their secretary, made the following communication to the London Board of Correspondents in Boston.

“The Reverend Dr. Wheelock, in whose employ I have served as a missionary among the Six Nations for six years last past, wanting a few days, is now engaged in erecting a college in the vicinity of Coos, and necessarily involved in such a crowd and multiplicity of business, as forbids his giving that attention to, and defraying the charges of, my mission, which he would otherwise cheerfully do; and the reverend doctor has said he would be willing that I should put myself under the care of your Board. I should be glad to lay before your Board my present situation, and the importance of my mission; and as the circumstances of my people and family require my speedy return, I beg for a meeting of your Board as soon as may be.”

This communication was favorably received,

and at an early meeting, after conference with Mr. Kirkland, it was voted to allow him one hundred pounds a year, as the missionary of the Board to the Oneidas, and thirty pounds additional salary were granted him till further order, in consideration of his having, at great pains and expense, acquired a knowledge of the principal dialects of the Six Nations, so as to carry on the service among them without the charge of an interpreter.

The patronage of the Boston Board gave a fresh impulse and success to Mr. Kirkland's mission. Through their aid, seconding the exertions of the Indians themselves, in the course of a few years a meeting-house was built, a saw-mill and grist-mill erected, additional oxen and farming utensils purchased for the use of the nation, a blacksmith's shop opened, where several Indian youth were instructed in the mysteries of that craft, and a rapid progress made by a portion of the nation in many of the habits and arts of civilized life, as well as in a knowledge of Christian truth, and a subjection to its influence.

It is gratifying to find, that the dissolution of the official connection between Dr. Wheelock and Mr. Kirkland did not result in a permanent and irreconcilable rupture of their friendship. In the autumn of the next year,

1771, Mr. Kirkland, after visiting Boston and reporting to the Board, went to Hanover, at the doctor's request, and, on the 30th of October, had a long personal interview with him, in the presence of the Reverend Messrs. David Maccleur and Levi Frisbie, "in order, in an amicable and Christian manner, to settle differences and misunderstandings which have of late subsisted." At this meeting, a paper was drawn up, entitled "Articles of Agreement between the Reverend Dr. Wheelock and the Reverend Mr. Kirkland," signed by themselves, and witnessed by Maccleur and Frisbie, in which, in the shape of declarations or articles, amounting to seven in number, mutual concessions, explanations, and resolutions, were made. The paper closes thus; "Dr. Wheelock and Mr. Kirkland have agreed never to receive any reports of one another, tending to discord, till they have opportunity, by personal interview, or by writing to each other upon the head, to learn the exact truth. If this had been done when they were so very far from suspicion of the evil that has happened, the devil never would have had the door which he has found to disturb their peace." By this agreement, Mr. Kirkland was still to be an occasional correspondent of Dr. Wheelock, and furnish him "with such accounts

as would be useful to the general design, and perform any such agency for the school as should be consistent with the business of his mission."

The Boston correspondents were not entirely satisfied with this arrangement; at least Dr. Eliot, then secretary of the Board, under date of April 9th, 1772, writes to him, "I have seen the articles of agreement between you and Dr. Wheelock, and it is the opinion of all your friends, that it had been as well if you had not seen him. We have too high an opinion of your integrity and gratitude to suppose you intended anything disrespectful; but the doctor is the more able negotiator, though I believe you superior to him in other respects. I must entreat you to have no contract with Dr. Wheelock, nor any connection with him, without making it known to the commissioners."

Mr. Kirkland's difficulties with Dr. Wheelock, and the transfer of his mission to the charge of the Boston Board, were the subject of much discussion and correspondence between the friends of Indian missions in this country and in England, and this correspondence, so far as it appears in Mr. Kirkland's papers, indicates pretty clearly that many members of the Society in Scotland for the

Promotion of Christian Knowledge, particularly the Reverend Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, and also of the Board of Commissioners in London, and of the Board of Correspondents in Boston, entertained at this time a strong distrust, and even dislike, of Dr. Wheelock, and were desirous to withdraw Mr. Kirkland as much as possible from his influence, from a feeling that he had suffered, and was likely to suffer, injury and injustice at his hands. Dr. Eliot says to him, in a letter containing extracts from the letters of the Reverend Mr. Davidson, of Braintree, and the Reverend Dr. Whitaker, of Salem, to Dr. Erskine, "You see, my friend, into what hands you are fallen. I make no comments. You are used cruelly by those who pretend to be your friends. I hope you will take care how you trust them."

The charges against Mr. Kirkland, originating principally with Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Ralph Wheelock, and countenanced, if not encouraged, by the father of the latter, were in general, that he was proud, ambitious, selfish, and extravagant. In a letter to Mr. Thornton, as also in the interview with Dr. Wheelock referred to above, he successfully disproved these charges; the first, by showing the mean and humble way in which

he lived, and had always lived, as an Indian missionary, ready to forego at all times his own personal comfort and accommodation for the sake of the cause in which he was engaged; the second, by the fact that he had at once and resolutely discouraged the idea, which some of the trustees had suggested, of his superseding or succeeding Dr. Wheelock in the charge of Moor's Indian Charity School, or such institution as might grow out of it, through funds raised abroad; the third, by the fact that he had refused, in several instances, gifts of land, both from Indians and white people, because the acceptance of them would injure his usefulness as a missionary, the Indians having the idea that the great object of the white people and their missionaries was, not to convert them to the gospel, but to get possession of their lands; the fourth and last, by exhibiting his accounts, which proved that his own personal expenses and outlays for the accommodation of his family had all been moderate, that a considerable portion of the funds he had received had been expended in loans or gifts to the poor and suffering among the Indians, and that if he had been extravagant, he had been extravagant only in his charities.

All this was admitted by Dr. Wheelock in

the interview, and is recognized in the articles of agreement; and Mr. Kirkland, in describing this interview to Mr. Thornton, relates that at the close of it, or shortly afterwards, Dr. Wheelock said to him, "After all, Mr. Kirkland, you may be the very man who is to succeed me, and the best man for it;" an admission, which, unconsciously on the part of its author, reveals the secret and real cause of the treatment which Mr. Kirkland had received at the hands of himself and his friends.

This account of the distrust and jealousy, springing up between friends zealously engaged in the same great and holy cause, cannot be better closed, perhaps, than by laying before the reader the following extract from one of Mr. Thornton's letters to Mr. Kirkland on the subject. "It is certainly," he says, "a device of the enemy to keep up jealousies among gospel ministers; and it is certainly their interest to circumvent him as far as possible. We are all liable to mistakes, which should teach us the lessons of sympathy, forbearance, and charity. Looking at our own failings, and the excellences of others, is the most effectual method to cure self-love and self-importance. Speaking of our friends' virtues to others, and concealing their infirmities, is true benevolence. Speaking or writing to a friend himself, and

in a Christian spirit acquainting him with some infirmities or follies he may not be sensible of, and allowing the same freedom in return, I look upon as true Christian friendship. Respecting you, Sir, and other ministers, my method is this. When I write *to* Mr. Kirkland himself, I freely mention anything I think wants rectification, and conceal his virtues, lest I spread a snare for his feet. When I write *of* Mr. Kirkland to others, I conceal his infirmities, lest I should encourage a spirit of bitterness in myself or the person to whom I write, and mention his virtues, to provoke myself and the friend I address to an imitation of them. When I write *to* Dr. Wheelock, I tell him wherein I think he has been misled. When I write *of* him, I would consider him as an excellent minister of Jesus Christ. Were this method more in practice, viz., each one to become sensible of his own infirmities, and to look with a single eye upon our neighbor's excellences, and be willing that others should do so too, Satan would be circumvented, and we should learn, and that effectually, two of the hardest lessons in practical godliness; to think soberly of ourselves, and each esteem others better than themselves."

CHAPTER VI.

Favorable Opinion entertained by the Society in Scotland of Mr. Kirkland's Character and Services. — Visits New England. — Purchases a small Farm at Stockbridge. — Resides there during the Revolutionary War. — Death of Sir William Johnson. — Difficulties between Colonel Guy Johnson and Mr. Kirkland. — Efforts of Mr. Kirkland to preserve the Neutrality of the Six Nations during the War.

MR. KIRKLAND's character did not ultimately suffer from the difficulty between himself and Dr. Wheelock. In February, 1773, Mr. James Forrest writes from Edinburgh, to Dr. Eliot, as follows. "Dr. Erskine, one of the members of our Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, showed us some time ago a journal of the missionary, Mr. Kirkland's labors. He has recently read us extracts of letters from members of your Board on the same subject, and I am appointed by the society to acquaint you that the reports of his behavior are such, as to give the society the highest satisfaction and the most sanguine hopes that his indefatigable

zeal, in spreading the knowledge of the Christian religion, will be attended with the greatest success. The society are fully convinced that Mr. Kirkland, in his labors, has far higher views than any worldly gain that can be acquired, and for this reason they are desirous to make his situation in the world as comfortable as possible." He then authorizes him to draw for fifty pounds, "a donation to the society from a charitable gentleman," and to have the same applied, at the discretion of the Boston Board, to "getting Mr. Kirkland properly accommodated." By a vote of the Board, this sum was subsequently given to Mrs. Kirkland.

It has been already stated, that this lady accompanied her husband into the Indian country immediately after their marriage in 1769, and in December of that year took possession of her new home at Oneida, a log-house, sixteen feet by twenty. Here she remained till the early part of the next summer, when she started on horseback, intending, if possible, to reach her mother's at Windham, in Connecticut. But she was not able to proceed further than General Herkimer's, at the German Flats. Here she remained several weeks, and on the 17th of August, gave birth to twin sons, named by their father in honor of his two most es-

teemed friends and benefactors, George Whitefield and John Thornton.*

As soon as her strength permitted, she returned with her infants to Oneida, to the great joy of the Indians, who immediately adopted the boys into the tribe, giving to George the name of Lagoneost, and to John that of Ahganowiska, that is, *Fair Face*. Mrs. Kirkland remained at Oneida, sharing her husband's duties and labors, till the summer of 1772, when she visited her friends in Connecticut, and in August gave birth to a daughter, who lived but a few weeks.

On this occasion, Mr. Kirkland writes to her thus; "Notwithstanding nature sinks, and the

* A short time before her confinement, she had received the following letter from Mr. Whitefield.

"Albany, July 11th, 1770.

"DEAR MRS. KIRKLAND,

"You and yours are much upon my heart. God will bless you for leaving your earthly friends to serve the interests of his kingdom in the Gentile world. Fear not in respect to your present circumstances. Your extremity shall be the Redeemer's opportunity. He loves to disappoint our fears, and exceed our strongest expectations. God bless you and my dear Indian Christian brethren. Excuse great haste, and follow with your prayers, dear Mrs. Kirkland,

"Less than the least of all,

"G. W."

heart bleeds by such a wound, the balm of Gilead is sufficient to heal, and the consolations of the spirit to promote exaltation in God. 'Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.' How precious, how sweet the words! May this, my dear afflicted wife, be your and my portion. Let us remember that the Lord reigns, and is not at all burdened with the weight of the whole universe, but attends to and orders the minutest affairs in his vast empire. Not so much as a hair of our heads shall fall unnoticed by him; much less our dear offspring. I trust, my dear, you will not dishonor your Savior or your God by an immoderate grief, murmuring, or impatience under his discipline. A '*must needs be*' stands in the title page of this afflictive, though in some respects dark and mysterious providence. My greatest grief is, that I cannot be present to share in yours; but even in this the Lord does right. The nature and circumstances of my business are such as to render an immediate visit to you very difficult. I cheerfully commit you to the hands of that God, who hath blessed me with you."

Mrs. Kirkland passed the winter of 1772-73 at Stockbridge, Massachusetts; and in the spring of the latter year, the unsettled and turbulent state of things in the Indian country, with the

evident prospect of war, making it dangerous for her to return, it was thought advisable that she should purchase a small farm or homestead in the white settlements. The fifty pounds, alluded to above, were given her for that purpose. She accordingly purchased a dwelling-house with a few acres of land at Stockbridge, and remained there with her children, occasionally visited by her husband, till after the peace of 1783.

Mr. Kirkland continued his residence and labors among the Oneidas, with such success, as the turbulent state of the times permitted. In the spring of 1773, Sir William Johnson died, and his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, was subsequently appointed, in his place, his Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Both these events were disastrous in their influence upon the Indians, particularly the Six Nations. Sir William Johnson was a man of large experience, wise, prudent, conciliatory, and forbearing, though not wanting in firmness. In the exercise of these qualities, he had gained the entire confidence of the Indians, and exercised an extensive and beneficial influence over them. He had been for many years a resident in this country, with which his sympathies and domestic associations were stronger than with England. So

long as he lived, he was true to his government and his King; it is probable however, at least very possible, that, in the struggle between the colonies and the mother country, he would ultimately have espoused the cause of the former. It may reasonably be believed, that he would have exerted his influence to keep the Indians neutral in the contest, and would have urged upon his government the iniquity of adding the cruelties and barbarities, which the savages would perpetrate, to the sufferings and bloodshed that would necessarily come in the train of civil war.

Colonel Guy Johnson, on the other hand, was the intimate friend, and much under the influence, of his brother-in-law Sir John Johnson, who had recently returned from England, where, as Sir William wrote to Mr. Kirkland at the time, he "was most graciously received by his Majesty and all the royal family. He was also received in the most kind and friendly manner by the nobility. No man ever left America so much taken notice of at home, which I hope may be of great service to him and this country." Colonel Johnson's sympathies, therefore, were all very strong with England and the home government. He was a zealous Epis-

copalian and a devoted royalist, and his influence with the Indians was therefore naturally exerted in behalf of the church and the King. Mr. Kirkland, on the contrary, both in religion and politics, was true to the spirit and principles of the Puritans, from whom he descended. He was a dissenter and an American patriot. It is not surprising, therefore, that the relations between him and Colonel Johnson were not long of a very amicable kind. It was evidently the desire and intention of the latter to destroy Mr. Kirkland's character and influence with the Indians, and drive him from his post.

For this purpose, he encouraged and gladly received accusations against him, which he sent up to Oneida with threatening messages and injunctions of his own. In one of these messages, he tells them, "Your minister earnestly entreated the Governor and his Majesty's council of New York to grant him four thousand soldiers, to thrash and punish the Indians, in order to bring them to repentance and embracing the gospel, for nothing but force of arms would ever humble them. This, my brethren, is what displeases me, that your minister should represent Indians in such a light; and I think the time is near when I shall punish him for such conduct. How-

ever, he may continue among you for the present, and preach to you ; but he must pray agreeably to those forms in the prayer-book, which the King has given you, and you must learn the responses." That Colonel Johnson encouraged accusations against Mr. Kirkland was proved by one of the Oneidas, who had made them ; who, at a council of sachems, publicly acknowledged that he was advised by Joseph Brant to affirm several things concerning the minister and his doctrines, for this sole reason, "that it would please Colonel Johnson, and be very agreeable to him," and who further testified that the Colonel asked him, "if the Indians knew who their minister was ; that he was a descendant of those New England or Boston people who formerly murdered their King, and fled for their lives, when they came to this country ; that the New England ministers were not true ministers of the gospel ; that they held to dangerous doctrines ;" and many other things of the like nature, "too tedious," says Mr. Kirkland in one of his letters, "as well as too ridiculous, to relate."

Colonel Johnson, however, was foiled in his designs. The head men of the Oneida nation, after a council upon the subject, sent him a belt of wampum and a speech, in which

after assuring him that the accusations he had heard from some of the Oneidas were unauthorized by them, they say, "We love and esteem our father, the minister; he lives in great peace among us; he does no one any harm; he meddles not with state affairs; he labors hard in doctrine, and teaches us the pure word of God, and he conducts like a true minister of Jesus Christ. We therefore love our minister, and some among us begin to embrace religion. We do not desire his removal, nor are we willing to part with him; and should we do such a thing as to drive him off, we consider it as no other than saying to God, 'Depart from us.' We therefore beg you will desist from any further attempts to drive him off."

Mr. Kirkland also wrote to him a firm, manly, but temperate and respectful letter, in which, among other things, he says, "As to modes and ceremonies, (matters you say you never interfere with,) I pay as little regard to them as yourself or any other man. My business is not to make proselytes to any particular denomination of Christians, but real converts to Jesus Christ. A change of names, and not of character, is an attainment that can gratify none but narrow, contracted souls, and is a work fit for none but bigots and par-

tisans. I acknowledge that I have been accused by some Indians, and many white people too, in these parts, as 'a setter forth of strange doctrines,' and preaching a new gospel. But so far as I understand the Holy Scriptures, the truths I inculcate are no 'new-fangled doctrines,' but as old-fashioned as the prophets and apostles, as old as the Bible and many things taught in the Book of Common Prayer, and Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. I am so far from being unfriendly to the Episcopal missionaries, that I ardently wish that they might be such faithful stewards of the mysteries of God, and so far outlive, outlabor, and outpreach their dissenting brethren, that there should never be occasion for these latter to enter the territories of the Six Nations. At the same time, as things now are, I trust, Sir, you will cheerfully allow me, as a rational creature, a moral agent, (what many eminent divines of the Church of England have pleaded for,) the indefeasible right of private judgment in matters of faith."

This letter of Mr. Kirkland, and his whole course of conduct in relation to Colonel Johnson, were approved by the Board of Correspondents in Boston.

It is impossible to give any connected ac-

count of Mr. Kirkland's labors and services during the revolutionary war. He kept no journals during this confused and turbulent period, and preserved no copies, as he seems to have done up to this time, of his most important letters. His mission, though not absolutely abandoned, was virtually discontinued, as he was often and for a long time absent, and at a great distance from Oneida, serving as a chaplain in the Continental army, or acting as an agent for the Continental Congress, in negotiations with the Indians. In this latter capacity, he undoubtedly rendered important services to the country. By a vote of Congress, passed on the 18th of July, 1775, it was "recommended to the Commissioners of the Northern Department, to employ the Reverend Mr. Samuel Kirkland among the Indians of the Six Nations, in order to secure their friendship, and to continue them in a state of neutrality with respect to the present controversy between Great Britain and these colonies."

The history of the Six Nations during our revolutionary war, the course they were induced to pursue through the influence of Guy Johnson and other British agents and officers, the deeds of cruelty and savage barbarity they committed, afford an interesting, but dark and mournful page in American annals ;

but they cannot here be enlarged upon. The limits of this memoir permit only the brief statement, that, in accordance with the above vote of Congress, Mr. Kirkland was employed in efforts to preserve the neutrality of the Indians, and for this purpose put forth all his personal influence, took long journeys among the Indian tribes in all directions, and attended several councils that were held at the German Flats, Albany, Oneida, and Onondaga. He had at first great hopes of success, and, in the autumn of 1775, felt confident that the Six Nations would not engage in the contest. Early in the ensuing spring, however, in a letter, dated at Oneida, March 12th, he writes to General Schuyler as follows.

"I am sorry to tell you, that the face of things among the western tribes of the confederacy begins to change, and to appear different from what our expectations promised at the last treaty held in Albany. It is very evident their minds are poisoned by some enemy to the liberties of the colonies. Such vile and iniquitous sentiments as these are still propagated and prevail among the western tribes, viz., that the white people, particularly the Americans, are treacherous and deceitful, have no true friendship for Indians, and are not to be depended upon for aid and protection.

Should they conquer in the present contest, no sooner have they obtained victory than they will turn about, fall upon the Indians, and destroy them. This is no new thing, but the very same old tune which Colonel Johnson played upon so long, although he confined it chiefly to the white people of New England and Virginia. A general account of what has taken place here, in a meeting with the Onondagas and Cayugas, has been sent to you by Mr. Dean. In this affair, the Oneidas manifested an unshaken friendship for the colonies, and a firm attachment to their council-fire at Albany. Many of the Indians have observed to me that a debate so warm, a contention so fierce, was never known to have happened between these two nations, the Oneidas and Cayugas, since the commencement of their union. Some of our most judicious and warm friends of this tribe (Oneidas) have, in private conversation, expressed their fears of what may take place among the western nations, the ensuing spring, by means of Colonel Butler. It is their opinion, that your Honor will not be able to preserve any long time the union and friendship of the Six Nations; certainly not without the reduction of a certain post at the westward."

The fears expressed in this letter were soon

more than realized. In the summer previous, Colonel Johnson, with a numerous retinue of dependants and followers, among whom were Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk chief, and John and Walter Butler, had moved up the Mohawk River to Cosby's Manor, thence in the autumn to Ontario, where he met over thirteen hundred Indian warriors of the Six Nations in council. From Ontario he went to Oswego, and then to Montreal, where he took up his residence, and continued to act during the war as an agent of the British government, distributing to the Indians liberal rewards for their deeds of cruelty, and stimulating them to further exertions.

It was through the influence of this gentleman, of his brother-in-law, Colonel Claus, and of John and Walter Butler, all of whom had lived many years in the Mohawk Valley, that the Indians were induced to reject all the proffers of peace and friendship held out to them by the colonial patriots, and finally, in 1777, to join, in large numbers, Colonel St. Leger, in his descent from Oswego, to attack Fort Schuyler, and ravage the valley of the Mohawk. There is nothing to surprise, and comparatively little to censure, in this conduct of the Indians. They were naturally inclined to war, and felt an irresistible desire to fight

on one side or the other. The colonists only urged upon them neutrality, wished them to be peaceable, and keep quiet; the hardest thing that could be asked of them. The British government, on the other hand, through its agents, urged them to join the ranks of its armies, and take an active part in the contest.

It is to be considered, also, that they had now, for half a century, been accustomed to depend more or less upon the British government, and to receive from its agents supplies of clothing, arms, and munitions, both for the chase and for war. It is not surprising, therefore, that they remained firm in their attachment to it, and, as they received little from the colonists but professions of friendship, continued an alliance which brought immediate and substantial benefits, coupled with the prospect of future security; for there seems to have been no doubt in their minds, that the cause of the King would ultimately triumph. Brant told General Herkimer, in an interview at Unadilla, in July, 1776, "that the Boston people were resolute, but the King would humble them."

But the deepest infamy attaches to the British ministry, who recommended or countenanced, and to their agents, who carried into effect, the plan of employing them in the war.

It is one of the darkest spots in the pages of mingled gloom and glory that compose English history. The pretence that it was resorted to as a retaliatory measure, and was justified on that ground, has no foundation in fact. General Schuyler, while in command of the northern army, resisted the application of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras to join his forces, and strongly advised against it. During the first year or two of the war, these two nations, owing mainly to the influence and exertions of Mr. Kirkland, remained neutral, professing, however, and feeling, a warm interest in the cause of the colonies. Subsequently, they insisted upon taking an active part in the contest, and, to the number of about two hundred and fifty warriors, under the command of a celebrated Oneida chief, Skenando, rendered important services to the cause.

This chief was justly regarded by Mr. Kirkland as one of the most extraordinary men in all the Six Nations. His person was tall and commanding; his constitution vigorous and robust; his countenance displayed peculiar intelligence and dignity. Always brave and intrepid as a warrior, he became, in his riper years, one of the noblest and most sagacious counsellors of the Six Nations. From his interest and sympathy with the white people, from his fidel-

ity to all his engagements with them, he was distinguished among the Indians by the appellation of the *White Man's Friend*. Mr. Kirkland became acquainted with him when he first went into the Indian country, in 1764; and from that time to his death, an intimate and endeared personal friendship subsisted between them. So strong was this attachment of the Indian chief to Mr. Kirkland, that he often expressed a desire, and obtained from the family a promise, that he should be buried near the minister, his father, (whom he survived several years,) that, as he said, "he might cling to the skirts of his garments, and go up with him at the great resurrection." When he died, in 1816, aged one hundred and ten years, through arrangements made by Mr. Kirkland's family, his remains were conveyed to Clinton, where a funeral service was held in the church, and deposited as he desired. The Christian minister and the Indian warrior now sleep side by side, in their quiet graves, in an orchard on what was Mr. Kirkland's homestead.

CHAPTER VII.

Chaplain at Fort Schuyler. — With General Sullivan at Wyoming. — Enters again upon his Missionary Labors among the Oneidas. — Condition of the Indians after the War. — Treaty of Fort Stanwix. — Mr. Kirkland's Success in his Mission. — Religious Awakening among the Indians.

THERE is no evidence that Mr. Kirkland was present at the battle of Oriskany, or the siege of Fort Schuyler, although his letters and a commission from the Continental Congress show that he served as "chaplain to the garrison at Fort Schuyler and the other posts established in that quarter, with the pay and subsistence of a brigade chaplain, continuing, at the same time, to pay as great attention to the Oneidas, and other Indians contiguous to them, as might be consistent with the above-mentioned appointment." He writes to his wife, from Fort Schuyler, September 15th, 1776, "The hard duty and variety of business that the soldiers are called to, render it inconvenient for public prayers, save once a day; but I aim to be faithful in improving opportunities of personal intercourse with the troops, to enliven

their love of God and of liberty, and their readiness to *do* and to *suffer* for the cause of the country."

In the years 1777 and 1778, Mr. Kirkland made one or two visits to his family at Stockbridge, but was most of the time at his post among the Oneidas, and was much employed in procuring, through friendly Indian scouts, intelligence, from Niagara and the lake frontier, of the plans and purposes of the enemy in that quarter. In 1779, he was brigade chaplain with General Sullivan, in his campaign on the Susquehanna. Among his letters, at this period, is one to his wife, dated on the 5th of July, at Wyoming, where the expedition was detained some weeks, owing to some delay in the commissary's department, which shows that the topics of conversation in camps are sometimes such as would seem to be wide apart from the objects for which camps exist.

"I am at present, in many respects, happily situated; have part of a large marquee to myself, and live in the General's family. Conversation in the family, for some days past, has been chiefly on religious subjects, such as the authenticity of the Scriptures, the nature and consequences of Deism. The General has undertaken to convince any Deist, (of which there is no want in the army,) from principles

of reason, that the Scriptures are of divine original; at least the doctrinal and preceptive parts. In less than a day, he has wrote thirty pages in quarto, to prove the existence of a Supreme Being, the truth of the Bible, and that Jesus is the promised Messiah and Savior of the world. He has read the greatest part to me last evening and this morning. I cannot but admire the ingenuity of the man, and the justness of many of his sentiments. He frankly owned to me, that he was once a perfect Atheist, then a complete Deist, but at length became convinced, by fair and impartial reasoning, of the existence of the Supreme Being, and the perfection of his character, of the inspiration of Holy Writ, and the mediatorial undertaking of Christ, and the general truths of the gospel, except this doctrine, viz., the depravity of human nature, which, he says, he must deny, or charge the Deity with imperfection, or, what is worse, with being the author of sin. O that God may give me wisdom and faithfulness to bear a suitable testimony to the *truth*, and never be left to deny the Lord.

“The necessity of a just and speedy retaliation for British and savage barbarity, prompts the army to encounter every fatigue and surmount every difficulty. Marks of havoc, devastation, and wrath, salute our eyes wherever

we walk over the fields of this once flourishing but now desolated country ; and these objects awaken strange feelings in my breast ; a just indignation and a deep abhorrence of pretended British clemency, once so much boasted of, now blended with savage barbarity. Upwards of one hundred and fifty widows were here made upon this ground in the short space of one hour and a half, about a year ago. Are these the fruits and effects of thy clemency, O George, thou tyrant of Britain and scourge of mankind? May He, to whom vengeance belongeth, put forth his righteous indignation in due time. These once flourishing, but now devastated fields, are now cultivated by the feeble hands of disconsolate widows and helpless orphans. But why dwell on the dark side. This devastation is undoubtedly a necessary link in the grand chain of events, to bring about the enjoyment and establishment of the liberties and privileges of this land, that we may be a happy people, and the gospel extend its benign influence over every state, and the Redeemer reap a glorious and rich harvest. Indeed, if we look into God's moral government, we shall find that it is not without cause that he hath done all these things, these terrible things, in righteousness."

He continued with General Sullivan during

the campaign of 1779, and late in the autumn of that year he returned to his family at Stockbridge. During the remainder of the war, he was part of the time at Fort Schuyler and the neighborhood, rendering such services as he could to the Indians and to the country, and a part of it also at Stockbridge and other places in Massachusetts and Connecticut. At this period, he preached to several congregations in Connecticut, whose pulpits were vacant, and received from one or two of them invitations to settle in the ministry, which he declined.

As soon as matters became a little quiet after the peace, on the 18th of February, 1784, he addressed a communication to the Board of Correspondents in Boston, through Mr. James Bowdoin, their president, in which he says,

“For more than eight years previous to the late war, I had served as a missionary to the Indians of the Six Confederate Nations of North America: A part of that time, I had the honor to be under your immediate patronage, and received a generous salary from the Society of Scotland; and what was more to me, I had the pleasure, from time to time, to hear that the manner in which I was enabled to discharge my mission, and the trust reposed in me, met the approbation of the society, and was attended with some happy fruits. My future

usefulness in the gospel ministry, especially among the poor Indians, and the duty I owe to a numerous and dependent family, urge me to make a brief, but just representation of my conduct as a missionary during the late war, with my present circumstances, and to solicit attention to the same. Soon after the commencement of the war, all intercourse and communication with the society was cut off, and the usual means of my support consequently failed. I was advised, nevertheless, by your honorable and reverend Board, to prosecute the business of my mission to the utmost of my ability."

He then describes the manner and extent to which he discharged the duties of his mission, the time he had acted as chaplain under the commission of Congress, the compensation he had received for the same, the amount paid him at several times by Congress for extra services of various kinds, with an account of his expenses, the present position of his domestic affairs, the situation of the Indians, particularly at Oneida, their desire for his continued services, as expressed in addresses to him and to the Board, which he communicates, and the encouraging prospects now opened "for spreading the gospel in these dark regions." This communication was sustained by letters from

Governor Trumbull, Timothy Edwards of Stockbridge, and Mr. James Dean, Agent for Indian Affairs; all advising Mr. Kirkland's re-appointment, and also by the following address from the sachems of the Oneida nation.

"Oneida, December 30th, 1783.

"Fathers; Attend to our words. It is a long time since we have heard your voice. We hope you have not forgotten us. The Great Spirit above hath preserved us, and led us back to our country, and rekindled our fire in peace, which we hope he will preserve, to warm and refresh us and our children to the latest posterity.

"Fathers; We thank the Great Spirit, that he hath formerly put it into the hearts of the good people on both sides of the great waters, to be mindful of us, who sat in darkness, and to send us the light of God's word. We hope their charity and prayers will still reach us. Not only our tongues, but our hearts, thank them for their past kindness.

"Fathers; We will let you know our minds, and the prospect that lies before us. We have been distressed by the black cloud that has so long overspread our country. The cloud has now blown over. Let all thank the Great Spirit, and praise Jesus! By means of the

servant of Jesus, the good news of God's word hath been published to us. We have received it. Some of us love it, and Jesus hath preserved us through the late storm.

"Fathers; Our fire just begins to burn again; our hearts rejoice to see it. We hope it will burn higher and brighter than ever; and that it will enlighten the Indian nations around us. Our brothers of the Stockbridge and Michigan tribes, and many others from the eastward, have already agreed to come and sit with us around it, who all hope there to see also the light of God's holy word.

"Fathers; We doubt not but that your hearts will rejoice in our prosperity. But, fathers, as you have heretofore been very kind to us, so we hope you will still continue to compassionate us; and as the Great Spirit above hath given us the light of peace once more, we hope he will, by your means, send to us again the light of his holy word; and that you will think upon our father, Mr. Kirkland, and enable him to eat his bread by our fireside. He has, for several years, labored among us, under great disadvantages, and done every thing in his power for our good. Our father, Mr. Kirkland, loves us, and we love him; he hath long had charge of us, hath long watched over us, and explained to us God's word.

"Fathers; We repeat our request, that you will continue our father to sit by our side, to watch over us, to instruct us, and lead us in the way to heaven.

"Fathers; We salute you, and have nothing more to say."

This address to the honorable Board of Commissioners had the signature or *mark* of the four principal sachems of the Oneida nation, and was written, at their request, by Mr. James Dean.

After full consideration of these documents, the Board passed, among others, the following votes.

"1. Voted, That Mr. Kirkland has, in our opinion, given a just representation of his conduct as a missionary during the war, and of his present circumstances and views, and therefore we think it our duty to recommend him to the favorable notice of the Society in Scotland.

"2. Voted, That, having stated an account for Mr. Kirkland, in which he is credited for his usual salary from the time of his last settlement, viz., September 1774, to March 1784, and made him debtor for what he has received, not only from the Board, but also for what he has received from time to time, for his cler-

ical services among the white inhabitants, we find a balance in his favor of seven hundred and ninety pounds sterling, which, notwithstanding the great interruptions of the business of his mission, necessarily occasioned by the war, we candidly think, upon a full consideration of the circumstances, to be due to him; and we apprehend it our duty to recommend his case to the favorable consideration of the Society in Scotland, who will please to give such orders respecting the said balance as they shall judge proper.

“3. It appearing, by a letter from the Indians, and by the representations of Mr. Kirkland, that the Oneidas have returned to their country, and expect an increase of people by the accession of other Indians, whereby they will become more numerous than before the war; it appearing also, that they are very desirous of Mr. Kirkland’s return to them in the character of missionary, and Mr. Kirkland, while uncertain of support, having promised them to return and abide with them some time, and having declared to us his intention to devote himself in future to the business of that mission, in case he shall be approved by, and have the encouragement of, the Society in Scotland; Voted, That Mr. Kirkland be continued in said mission until the said society shall sig-

nify their pleasure concerning him, and that he be, and hereby is, desired to repair to Oneida, as soon as the circumstances of his family will permit, and to officiate as heretofore among these Indians."

In accordance with the above votes, Mr. Kirkland repaired forthwith to Oneida, and resumed his missionary labors. The Society in Scotland subsequently paid him three hundred pounds of the seven hundred and ninety, which was considered by himself and the Boston Board to be the balance due him. They declined paying him any salary during the period of his chaplaincy in the Continental army, very properly taking the ground "that they could allow no salary to him, or to any person who had been in any shape in the service of those, that were in arms against Great Britain." They also expressed their desire to continue him in their employ as an Indian missionary, and voted to pay fifty pounds annually towards his support.

In 1785, he petitioned Congress upon the subject, and received his pay as brigade chaplain, and an additional grant of two hundred and fifty pounds, in consideration of special services rendered during the war. Subsequently, the corporation of Harvard College, who, from the time of the transfer of his services

to the Board of Correspondents in Boston, had considered Mr. Kirkland as in part their missionary, and had contributed something to his support, at a meeting held on the 7th of April, 1786, voted to allow him "the sum of three hundred and thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence, lawful money, out of Dr. Daniel Williams's legacy, in addition to what has been allowed him by the Scotch Society, in full for his services to March, 1784." They also voted, "that the Reverend Samuel Kirkland be continued a missionary among the Oneida Indians, till the further orders of the corporation, and that there be allowed to him the sum of sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, lawful money, annually, being equal to fifty pounds sterling."

Thus Mr. Kirkland was in part remunerated for his expenses and services during the war, and provision was made for his future support. But he did not wait to receive this remuneration, or to have this provision made, before resuming his labors. Immediately after the Boston Board of Commissioners had acted upon his communication of February, 1784, early in the spring of that year, while it was yet uncertain whether the Society in Scotland would pay the arrears of his salary, or make any further appropriation for his support, he

repaired to Oneida, and recommenced his missionary duties. Indeed, he had already promised the Oneidas, in reply to their earnest entreaty, that he would return and serve them two years, whether he received any thing or not from the commissioners in Boston, or the Society in Scotland; and it was not till more than half of this period had expired, that intelligence of the action of the Society in his favor reached him. This intelligence had been forwarded to him from Boston, in a letter from the Reverend Samuel Mather, dated November, 1784; but owing to some miscarriage, it did not reach him till the summer of 1785.

The unsettled state of things among the Indians, their extreme poverty, and the scarcity of provisions among them, exposed him, at this period, to frequent and severe suffering from famine, often interrupted his missionary labors, and prevented any very direct and palpable moral results. He was enabled in other ways, however, to render the Indians various and important services, especially in settling their affairs with the United States. During the revolutionary war, the Six Nations were scattered abroad. Many of their villages were attacked and destroyed by one party or the other in the border warfare. The men were in the British and American camps; and

the women and children sheltered and provided for themselves as they could, here and there, as opportunity offered or necessity required. They were now, on the return of peace, slowly coming back to their former homes and hunting-grounds, with the exception of the Mohawks, who did not wish to reside within the boundaries of the United States. Determined, at the commencement of the contest, to adhere to the English, and having received from Sir Guy Carleton a pledge, subsequently renewed by General Haldimand, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief in Canada, that, as soon as the war was at an end, they should be restored, at the expense of the British government, to the condition they were in before it began, the Mohawks gathered temporarily on the Niagara River, and waited to have this pledge redeemed. Through the influence and exertions of their distinguished chief, Joseph Brant, who visited Quebec for the purpose, this was soon done, and a grant obtained from the crown of six miles on each side of the Ouise, or Grand River, from the mouth to its source, making a territory of about one hundred miles in length by twelve in breadth. To this the Mohawks shortly afterwards removed.

The affairs of the other nations of the con-

federacy were in an unsettled and awkward position. In the treaty which secured peace and independence to the United States of America, Great Britain, either from oversight or intentional neglect, made no stipulations in behalf of the Indians, the savage allies, who had rendered her such important services in the contest, while the lands of these allies, especially all the territories of the Six Nations, who had suffered so much and been so devoted to the cause of the crown, were within the boundaries granted to the new republic. Moreover, by the treaty, the sovereignty of these lands became vested in the United States to the same extent of course that it had been vested in and exercised by Great Britain. The Six Nations, very soon after the English came into possession of the colony of New York, and in order to secure their aid against the Hurons and Algonquins, placed themselves and their lands under the protection of the colonial government of the province, reserving to themselves only a qualified sovereignty.

The policy both of the Dutch and English colonial government had been just, kind, and liberal toward them. They had never been dispossessed of any lands except by purchase. But on the conclusion of the war, there being no stipulations for restraint in the treaty, a dis-

position was manifested by the legislature of New York to take possession of their lands, and expel the Six Nations from the boundaries of the state. A similar intention, or desire, seems to have been entertained, to some extent, in some other states. The question of the policy to be pursued towards the Indian tribes within the borders of the United States, became therefore at once a question of grave importance, and the attention of the most eminent public men was immediately directed to it. General Schuyler addressed a memorial to Congress upon the subject, in July, 1783, and in September following General Washington wrote a long letter to a member of that body, James Duane, in which he approved and urged the just and humane policy which happily prevailed.*

In accordance with the principles of this policy, a council was held at Fort Stanwix, in the autumn of 1784. At this council, sachems and warriors from all the Six Nations were present, together with Cornplanter, a famous chief, and head of the clan or portion of the Senecas residing on the Allegany. Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, were the commissioners on the part of the

* Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VIII. p. 477.

United States. Mr. Kirkland was present at this council, acting as interpreter, and using his influence with the Indians in behalf of an amicable adjustment of difficulties. The following letter, directed to Mr. Kirkland, shows that the commissioners summoned him to their aid and service in the preliminary preparations.

“Albany, 20th of September, 1784.

“SIR,

“The sloop which sailed from Philadelphia the 8th instant, fraught for the use of the treaty, being detained by contrary winds, it is improper for us to proceed to Fort Stanwix till her arrival at this place. We find that provision is forwarded to Fort Stanwix to supply the Indians, but no person to superintend it till we come there. We therefore wish you to proceed and receive the Indians as they come in, and take account of their numbers, and make proper returns for provision for them; on which it is our desire that the commissary of provisions will issue no liquor to be given but to your order and disposal, which we doubt not will be properly applied. You will inform the Indians, as they arrive, that we are so far on our way, and will be with them as soon as things are forwarded for our accommodation; and advise them to make them-

selves as comfortable as possible. You will endeavor to have some place provided for the reception of the goods and stores, as well as a place for the council to sit, and, if possible, to lodge us.

"We are, very respectfully, Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,

"OLIVER WOLCOTT,

"ARTHUR LEE,

"R. BUTLER."

At this council the representatives of the Six Nations were at first opposed to a separate negotiation with the United States. They desired that a larger council should be held, in which the Hurons, Ottawas, Shawanese, Chippewas, Delawares, Pottawattamies, the Wabash confederates, and the Cherokees, should be represented, and one definitive treaty made, in which the whole question of boundaries on all the Indian borders should be determined. The commissioners refused to grant any delay, or listen to any proposal of this sort, on the ground that the Six Nations had been the most active and devoted allies of the crown in the late contest; they must therefore be treated with separately, and punished by the dismemberment of their territory.

Through the efforts of Cornplanter, who

was too wise not to perceive that it would be folly for the Indians to wage war single-handed against the United States, and that to secure peace by the relinquishment of a part of their territory was better than to lose the whole by force, the Indians were brought to acquiesce in the terms of the commissioners. On the 22d of October, a treaty was signed, by which the Six Nations were to relinquish a large part of the territory they claimed to own; to restore all prisoners in their possession; to deliver up certain individuals, notorious offenders, of their own people, for trial by the laws of the United States; and to place six hostages in their hands, to remain till these stipulations were fulfilled. Upon these conditions, the United States made peace with the four hostile nations of the confederacy, the Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, received them, together with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, under their protection, and secured to each and all the possession of the lands they were then occupying.

This treaty was very unsatisfactory to a portion of the Indians. The Mohawk chief Brant was especially displeased with its conditions. During the negotiations at Fort Stanwix, of which it was the result, Brant was at Quebec, completing the arrangements for the re-

moval of his nation to the banks of the Ouise, and preparing to sail for England, for the purpose of procuring compensation from the British government for the services and sacrifices of his nation during the war. He immediately abandoned his intention of visiting England, and returned to look after the affairs of the Mohawks and the other nations of the confederacy at home. He was especially incensed that a distinguished Mohawk chief, who had attended the negotiations at Fort Stanwix at his suggestion, was detained as one of the six hostages. He was dissatisfied also that a separate treaty had been made with the Six Nations, rather than a general one with all the Indian tribes. He expressed this dissatisfaction in a letter addressed to Colonel James Monroe, and endeavored to awaken and disseminate it among the Six Nations and the western Indians.

Among Mr. Kirkland's papers is a copy of the following communication, addressed by Brant to Congress. It is endorsed as having been brought by an Indian runner from Buffalo Creek to Mr. Dean, at Oneida, on the 14th of September, 1785, and by him transmitted to the president of Congress.

“Brothers; A number of our brethren of the

Shawanese and Cherokee nations have come down to our council-fire at Buffalo Creek, to confer with us on the subject of peace with the United States. We could not agree in our conference, and adjourned the meeting to Niagara, where we resumed the subject with our brothers from the westward, and at length came to an agreement.

“Brothers; The business is very important. We wish you to be present to hear what passes between our brothers and us on this occasion. We request you, therefore, to send Colonel James Monroe, Major Peter Schuyler, and Mr. James Dean, that they may be here present, and hear the result of our conference with our brethren the Shawanese and Cherokees. We do now, by this belt, take them by the hand, and conduct them to our council-house at Buffalo Creek.

“Brothers; They need not be apprehensive of any danger or detention. It is not our custom to detain those who come to do business with us. Their stay will be very short. We only wish them to hear what passes at this conference, that you may have the most correct information of our proceedings.

“Brothers; We hope that you will not fail to gratify us in our request, by sending the persons we have named to meet us as soon

as possible. Our messenger will wait at Oneida for your reply to this.

“A belt of nine rows of wampum.

“JOSEPH BRANT, *Speaker.*”

Mr. Stone, in his “Life of Brant,” after quoting a notice, published in London, of his arrival in England, in which it is observed, “This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at the late grand congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America,” and that “he took his departure for England immediately after that assembly broke up,” adds, “What particular Indian council is referred to in the preceding quotation is unknown.” The “particular council referred to” is undoubtedly the one held at Buffalo Creek, in September, 1785, from which Brant addressed the foregoing communication to Congress.

Brant, however, did not succeed at this time in exciting among the Indians of the Six Nations any general dissatisfaction with the treaty of Fort Stanwix. Enjoying, under this treaty, peace and the undisturbed possession of their lands in the state of New York, they became in general quiet and contented; and early in 1786, Mr. Kirkland’s labors among the Oneidas began, in consequence, to produce visible fruits. Indeed, in the autumn of 1785, he

writes in his journal, that "at old Oneida and Kanonwalahale, the Indians appeared universally desirous of religious instruction, except two or three professed pagans, and would convene for that purpose at any hour in the day. I have sometimes, when travelling among them, preached a lecture at sun half an hour high in the morning, and had a full meeting." Often, on Sundays, they would assemble in such crowds that no house could accommodate them, and it would be found necessary to hold the service in the open air. On one of these occasions, having spoken upwards of an hour, with the wind blowing fresh, his voice failed him; and as the attention of the Indians seemed much engaged, he requested Good Peter, who was present, to make some further observations. He arose and addressed them, he says, "for near half an hour, with such judgment, propriety, and pathos, as exceeded anything, in my apprehension, that I have ever heard from Indian lips." He gives the following portion of his address, "translated as literally as the different idioms of the language will admit."

"My brethren, pride and ignorance are our greatest enemies. They will destroy our souls. We think we know something; yea, that we are very wise, and know a great deal; this is

our misery. For we know nothing of our own character and our situation in this present world. Here, for instance, is the young warrior," (pointing to a number of that class who sat at some distance, with their painted faces and feathered heads;) "he feels as if he had wisdom and strength sufficient to live and pursue his projects, independent of any being, either in heaven or earth! O, how vain! The Great Spirit above, who looks through the universe, and now sees us, he considers us as nothing more than particles of dust, such as we tread upon; therefore, in his condescension and compassion to poor man, he has said, somewhere in his holy book, 'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches; if any man would glory, let him glory in this, that he may look upon and adore the great God, and praise him for Jesus Christ.' We think that earthly good and present enjoyments are worth a great deal; yea, that there is nothing else of any worth; hence it is, that we Indians set so light by the gospel, which, in God's judgment, is above all price.

"Now, my brethren, collect all earthly treasures, and they are valuable; but bring them up to compare with the gospel of Jesus and

its blessings, and they will blush and seek to hide their face ; yea, vanish in a moment. Who is Jesus? You will say, he was a man, a good man; that he lived among the Jews, and said a great many good things. Is this all? Was he man only? What was the body, the flesh of the man Jesus? It was only a garment, or coat, to cover him. God was within! When man sinned, God shut heaven against him, and could not speak to him without covering himself with a garment. Jesus himself said, that he came to reveal the Father; that is, to open the nature of God to the eyes of man's mind, that man might be brought back and see God. Who, then, can tell how much the gospel of Christ is worth? The angels have tried, but they cannot tell. They are still looking on."

This passage doubtless loses much by translation; but even in its English dress, it is not undeserving of the praise bestowed upon it by Mr. Kirkland.

In close connection with this specimen of Indian eloquence, his journal presents an example of Indian logic. A Cayuga chief, in the autumn of 1785, came sixty miles to visit Mr. Kirkland. He passed several days with him, conferring upon religious subjects, and inquiring particularly into the nature of the Chris-

tian religion. He expressed his approval of the laws and spirit of the gospel, and thought they would answer for Indians as well as white people, provided "the Indians would universally agree to embrace" them. He was anxious to know whether the gospel was originally designed for every nation. Upon being answered on this point, he asked, "if the gospel was originally designed for every people and nation, why was it so many hundred years before some nations heard of it?" a question which Mr. Kirkland acknowledges he found it difficult to answer to the satisfaction of an Indian mind. Unhappily, the difficulty is not confined to minds of that class.

In 1786, there was a general religious awakening among the Indians under Mr. Kirkland's charge, particularly at old Oneida. In the spring of that year, an old Indian, over seventy years of age, who had been blind for nearly half a century, became a convert to the gospel. This person had always been very religious, a strict and rigid pagan. Though not a sachem in the hereditary line, his uncommon abilities and good judgment had obtained for him a seat in the council of the nation. Shut out by blindness from the active pursuits of war and hunting, he became, through a retentive memory, one of the greatest In-

dian historians in the Six Nations. Being requested by Mr. Kirkland to reconcile certain contradictory statements in the traditions of the fathers, respecting the happiness of all Indians in the other world, he found it impossible to do so satisfactorily to himself or his inquirer. This circumstance first awakened in his mind some doubts about the correctness of his pagan faith. He became very inquisitive concerning the doctrines of the gospel, particularly as to what Jesus taught in relation to a future state, and the classes and characters of men that were to dwell together there. He was soon convinced that Christianity was the true religion, and affectionately requested Mr. Kirkland "to come and cast water on him in the name of Jesus." With this request Mr. Kirkland complied, after such delay as seemed necessary to give full proof of his faith.

The conversion of a person thus distinguished for the vigor of his mind and the strength of his attachment to his pagan faith, excited considerable attention in all the neighboring Indian villages. It was not till the latter part of August, however, that a general seriousness began to prevail among them. In his journal of this period, Mr. Kirkland says,

"The instruction of Indians appears more and more to me to be an arduous task. When

their minds are thoroughly roused, and they begin to believe the Bible is God's book, and the religion of Jesus designed for every nation, and that they have a concern in it, they are exceedingly eager for instruction, and cannot be put off with as little attention as those who have been brought up under the light of the gospel. Truly, their engagedness, with the ideas of their miserable pagan state, is calculated to excite the tenderest emotions in one's breast, and rouse the whole soul to vigorous exertions. My ministerial labor has not been more fatiguing and incessant for these fifteen years past, than of late; but, blessed be God, I humbly hope never more delightful. I would acknowledge the goodness of God in the almost uninterrupted health with which I have been favored, and thereby enabled to apply myself to ministerial duties in season and out of season. Soon after the Indians returned from their fall hunt, I had my house crowded for many weeks together with catechumens and persons under soul concern, from morning to night; and some whole nights I have sat up with them.

"I have reason to believe there have been more than seventy souls under very serious impressions in three villages. I think I never knew more rational and pungent convictions

of divine truth among any people. There is observable in some a tincture of enthusiasm; nevertheless, I have reason to believe there is a work of God's grace among them. The external reformation is conspicuous. It is now more than seven months since there has been a single instance of drunkenness in two villages. Many who were formerly given to dissipation, every step of whose past life was marked with the foulest vices, have now become visibly sober, regular, industrious, praying Indians."

Violent opposition to the Christian cause was, however, occasionally manifested, during the winter, particularly on the 1st of January, 1787. Early in the morning of that day, being a week day, Mr. Kirkland held a religious service, at the request of the serious Indians, in grateful recollection of God's mercies the year past, and humbly to implore his continued blessing and protection. The seriousness and solemnity of the occasion were interrupted by the rude behavior of several professed pagans, who, under the instigation and influence of a young and haughty chief, who had resided some years among the western Indians, soon became very noisy, reviled the Christian and praying Indians, as they called them, and made public declaration that Christianity should

not become the religion of the nation, and that a religious dance and feast, after the custom of the fathers, should be celebrated in the evening. Their invitations to one and another to attend were generally refused, and they soon found that they could not prevail on a sufficient number to celebrate one old religious feast. Filled with rage and disappointment at this failure, which they ascribed to Mr. Kirkland's influence, they laid a plan to take his life in the dusk of the evening. Fortunately the design was discovered shortly before the attempt was to have been made, just in time for his friends to conceal him in a shed attached to a solitary wigwam, where he passed the night under the protecting watch of several of their chiefs and young men.

Early the next morning, a general assembly of the town was held to consult measures for his protection, and for the support of religion. He was desired to attend, and did so. When all were convened, the chief sachem addressed them, with great earnestness and pathos, for nearly two hours, depicting their situation in the most lively colors, and insisting on the necessity of every one's declaring either for or against Christianity. He then addressed himself to Mr. Kirkland, took him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, made the following

declaration. "Father, open your ears, and let all present hear, while I declare, in the presence of the Great Spirit, that I love you; that I will die for Jesus, and die for you, father, any day. Leave us not, I entreat you; we are an undone people if you leave us. This is my opinion. Let every one disclose his sentiments, as in the name of Jesus." The whole of that day, and most of the next, was spent in council, when the face of affairs was agreeably changed. The young pagans, who had made the disturbance, came forward, and in full council publicly acknowledged their wrong conduct, and implored pardon; which was granted, and "all was again peace."

On the next Saturday, he was visited by a number of the Christian chiefs, who desired that, in his services the next day, he should take notice of the persecution he had suffered, and adapt his instructions to the particular state of his flock and the events of the week. One of them took the liberty to suggest to him several subjects, as suitable to the occasion, and, among others, mentioned "the history of St. Paul's life previous to his conversion to Christianity; he held the old way, the tradition of the fathers, and thought he was serving the true God of Israel, while he was fighting and kicking against Jesus; here," said he,

"Indians will see to what wickedness pride and darkness of mind will lead them." Mr. Kirkland selected a different passage of Scripture, as the foundation of his discourse, but concluded to follow the advice of the chiefs, as to the adaptation of his services, though he had "a keen sensibility to the force of that exhortation of the Savior, 'Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves.'"

At the close of the day, he says in his journal, "I had abundant reason to bless God for this day. I do not recollect to have attended so solemn and affectionate a meeting with my Indians for near fourteen years past. Many followed me from the place of public worship to my own house, the distance of a mile, and tarried till evening. Their applications for instruction were so incessant, that I could get no leisure to take any refreshment till late in the evening. Near nine o'clock, I received an earnest request to pray and sing a psalm or two with a number, who were convened in a neighboring house, and say a few words, if I was not too weary; also, to marry a couple, who had been some time published. I attended the meeting with a great deal of satisfaction. The wedding bore a much greater resemblance to a funeral than to nuptial mirth." This religious awakening among the In-

dians at Oneida and the neighboring villages continued through the spring of 1787. Mr. Kirkland preached almost every day at one or another of these villages. Among his auditors he often had those who had travelled fifteen, twenty, and even thirty miles, expressly to join in the services, and "confer with him upon divine things." At the close of a day in May, "a very affecting and refreshing season," he writes in his journal, "After the public exercises, it being a very pleasant evening, I walked out, about ten o'clock, and was exceedingly delighted to hear them at their family devotions, singing God's praise, and calling upon his name, in their respective families, in one and another quarter of the town."

His journals for 1786 and the year following gave very great satisfaction to the Society in Scotland, and, in consideration of his abundant labors and success among the Indians, and the expenses to which he had been subjected in entertaining the numbers who came to his house for instruction and conference with him, they voted, on the 8th of January, 1788, "to allow him thirty pounds for this year, over and above his salary from the society."

CHAPTER VIII.

Condition of his Family at Stockbridge. — Death of Mrs. Kirkland. — Tour among the Western Nations of the Confederacy. — Interviews with Brant and Others. — Returns to his Missionary Labors at Oneida. — Conferences with the Indians on their Condition and Prospects. — Visits Philadelphia. — Conversion of Cornplanter.

SINCE their removal to Stockbridge, at the commencement of the revolutionary troubles, Mr. Kirkland's family had continued to reside there, surrounded by kind friends, and in the midst of a very intelligent and cultivated society. When he resumed his missionary labors, in 1784, Mrs. Kirkland was desirous of removing immediately to Oneida, that she might share in his labors, and lessen his sacrifices and privations by her presence and sympathy. The unsettled state of things in the Indian country, the difficulty of accommodating his numerous family in the wilderness, and, above all, the want of schools and all means of suitably educating his children, made it desirable that she should still remain at Stockbridge; and she had cheerfully yielded to the neces-

sity. Here his children, at this time six in number, passed the early years of life, under circumstances favorable to their happiness and improvement. The second son, John Thornton, had been sent to Phillips Academy, Andover, in 1784, and, after a little more than two years' preparatory studies there, had entered the Freshman class of Harvard College, in May, 1786. In November, 1787, his twin brother, George Whitefield, went to Hanover, to pursue his studies under the direction of President Wheelock. Three daughters and one son remained at Stockbridge.

Late in the autumn of 1787, Mr. Kirkland visited Stockbridge, cheered by the recollection of the abundant success which had crowned his missionary labors for the year past, and happy in the condition and prospects of his family. But a sad change, a severe blow, awaited him. After a brief illness, with intense suffering, Mrs. Kirkland died, before the first month of the new year had expired. Her death was an irreparable loss to him and to his children, by whom she was honored and beloved as only a wise and good mother can be. This event is thus noticed by her son, the late President Kirkland; in a brief fragment, written when he was nineteen years old; a worthy tribute to her memory, from a worthy son.

“For the first part of my college life, I was as happy as perhaps any one ever was for so long a time together. One misfortune befell me in my junior year, which this world can never repair. My mother, on the 23d of January, 1788, died. The highest pleasure I could enjoy was that of pleasing her; and her influence over me was so great, that I never deviated from rectitude without feeling myself particularly culpable on her account. Her affection for her children was as great as her sensibility was exquisite. She seldom spoke of their welfare without tears, nor ever remitted her exertions to promote it. She found her chief consolation, under every sorrow and disappointment, in religion. In the doctrines and promises of Christianity she had an unshaken faith; its precepts were her delight, and their practice her ornament. In her expiring moments, she felt its supporting power. When she perceived the hand of death ready to snatch her, she bid a calm farewell to her surrounding friends, and, with a joyful confidence, committed her spirit to her Savior. May her early and constant instructions, her earnest exhortations to goodness, her excellent example and triumphant death, be indelibly impressed on the minds of her children, and form the directory of their lives. Go, gentle

spirit, to thy native regions, and join the kindred throng of raptured spirits in bliss, to hymn the praises of the great Creator. Thy genial virtues shall flourish in immortal vigor, and thy reward be vast as thy desires, and lasting as thy existence.”*

The death of his wife disarranged the plan Mr. Kirkland had formed of removing his family to Oneida early in the spring. His two oldest sons being at college, his other children were left on the homestead at Stockbridge, under the charge of an excellent and prudent lady, an intimate friend of Mrs. Kirkland, and he himself, after a brief visit to Boston, returned solitary and alone to his missionary labors. A large part of the summer of 1788 was spent in a tour among the western nations of the confederacy, as far as Buffalo Creek. His object in this journey was to ascertain, and furnish to the Board of Commissioners, in Boston, a particular account of the situation and numbers of the Senecas, their disposition towards the Christian religion, the prospects of usefulness to a missionary residing among them, and also to be present, by invitation and request, at a treaty to be held in their country.

* See Dr. Young's *Discourse on President Kirkland*, p. 26.

This journey from Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk, to Kanadasegea, the Indian village near Seneca Lake, where he resided in his first missionary labors, twenty-four years before, was performed by water in a small bateau; thence by land to Buffalo Creek. His journal of the tour is very full, describing, with some minuteness, and particularity often, the lakes and rivers, the face of the country, the quantity and kinds of timber, the soil, the numbers and condition of the Indian villages, and the conferences held with their sachems and chiefs. It would be interesting and curious, did our limits permit, to present some of these descriptions, and contrast them with the scenes that would meet the eye of the traveler in passing through the same country now. Sixty years have not gone by, and the territory that then held about four thousand poor and half-starved Indians, now bears upon its bosom nearly two millions of people, industrious, intelligent, wealthy, surrounded by all the arts, elegances, and comforts of civilized Christian society.

Mr. Kirkland describes, in several instances, the ruins or indications of ancient Indian forts and fortified towns, giving evidence of more art, ingenuity, and a more advanced civilization, than then existed among them. The

following is an account of one of these, which he found about thirty-six miles west of the Genesee River. "This place is called by the Senecas Tegatainasghque, which imports a double-fortified town, or a town with a fort at each end. Here are the vestiges of two forts; the one contains about four acres of ground; the other, distant from this about two miles, and situated at the other extremity of the ancient town, encloses twice that quantity. The ditch around the former (which I particularly examined) is about five or six feet deep. A small stream of living water, with a high bank, circumscribed nearly one third of the enclosed ground. There were traces of six gates, or avenues, round the ditch, and a dug-way near the works to the water. The ground on the opposite side of the water was in some places nearly as high as that on which they built the fort, which might make it necessary for this covered way to the water. A considerable number of large, thrifty oaks have grown up within the enclosed ground, both in and upon the ditch; some of them, at least, appeared to be two hundred years old or more. The ground is of a hard, gravelly kind, intermixed with loam, and more plentifully at the brow of the hill. In some places, at the bottom of the ditch, I could run my cane a foot

or more into the ground ; so that probably the ditch was much deeper in its original state than it appears to be now. Near the northern fortification, which is situated on high ground, are the remains of a funeral pile. The earth is raised about six feet above the common surface, and betwixt twenty and thirty feet in diameter. From the best information I can get of the Indian historians, these forts were made previous to the Senecas being admitted into the confederacy of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Cayugas, and when the former were at war with the Mississaugas and other Indians round the great lakes: This must have been near three hundred years ago, if not more, by many concurring accounts, which I have obtained from different Indians of several different tribes.

“Indian tradition says, also, that these works were raised, and a famous battle fought here, in the pure Indian style and with Indian weapons, long before their knowledge and use of firearms, or any knowledge of the Europeans. These nations, at that time, used, in fighting, bows and arrows, the spear, or javelin, pointed with bone, and the war-club, or *death-mall*. When the former were expended, they came into close engagement in using the latter. Their warrior's dress, or coat of mail,

for this method of fighting, was a short jacket made of willow sticks, or moon-wood, and laced tight round the body; the head covered with a cap of the same kind, but commonly woven double, for the better security of that part against a stroke from the war-club.

“In the great battle fought at this place between the Senecas and western Indians, some affirm their ancestors have told them there were eight hundred of their enemies slain; others include the killed on both sides to make that number. All their historians agree in this, that the battle was fought here, where the heap of slain are buried, before the arrival of the Europeans; some say three, some four, others five ages ago; they reckon an age one hundred winters, or colds. I would further remark upon this subject, that there are vestiges of ancient fortified towns in various parts throughout the extensive territories of the Six Nations. I find, also, by constant inquiry, that a tradition prevails among the Indians in general, ‘that all Indians came from the west.’ I have wished for an opportunity to pursue this inquiry with the more remote tribes of Indians, to satisfy myself, at least, if it be their universal opinion.”

Mr. Kirkland arrived at the Seneca village

on Buffalo Creek on the 26th of June. Here he found a large concourse assembled, principally of the Six Nations, with some Delawares, Cherokees, and other western and southern Indians. Here he met many of his old friends of the Seneca tribe, with whom he became acquainted during his residence at Kanadasegea, in 1765, and by whom he was most cordially greeted. With some of these he had "a long conference respecting their receiving a missionary, if one could be provided. They declined giving any decisive answer, but observed, that, as they had long been acquainted with me, it would be well if I should visit them again, and converse freely with them upon the subject, and give them an opportunity to do the same; that there were many among them, who were fond of the English customs, and some of them had carried their children to Niagara for baptism; but they had heard that I declined administering baptism to children, unless the parents would renounce all their wicked practices, and promise to embrace the whole of Jesus's religion. They had never been accustomed to make such promises, but were told that their children should have Jesus's mark set upon them, as they were not to blame for any thing the parents had committed. I only observed to

them, that I could not be accountable for the instructions others gave; that I must take care for myself what doctrines I preached as the gospel of Jesus, for I must ultimately be called to an account by him. As to the baptism of children, the initiatory ordinance, I did not doubt but that, when they came to understand the doctrines and truths which Jesus taught while he was in the world, they would see the reason why parents themselves should become good and obedient to Jesus's laws, if they intended or expected their children should receive benefit by him, and have his mark set upon them."

Mr. Kirkland was a Calvinist, catholic in his spirit, but strict and stern in his own notions of Christian truth and duty. It would seem from his whole account of this conference, that the Senecas, while they had a great regard, and some of them a strong affection, for himself personally, did not like his form of Christianity; they evidently were not disposed to receive a missionary of his order; they preferred an Episcopal or Roman Catholic, who would baptize their children without any evidence of personal regeneration in the parents.

At this council on the Buffalo Creek, he had interviews, he says, "with Indians from every settlement in the Six Nations, and their whole

number, from the best information I can get, will amount to no more than four thousand three hundred and fifty, exclusive of those (the Mohawks) at Grand River, north of Lake Erie."

On the 7th of July, he writes in his journal, "This day, had a long conference with the noted Captain Brant, and several of the Seneca chiefs. They told me that they had been for a long time consulting the good of Indians; that it appeared to them, that the Indian interest must be one; that they must all unite as Indians, independent of white people; that, for this purpose, an embassy of near twenty sensible Indians had been sent from the Six Nations to all the western and southern nations, to acquaint them with a plan of general union, as absolutely necessary for the good of Indians. They had been travelling on this business for seventeen months, and now lately returned; that they had conferred with twenty-two different tribes or nations, from the great lakes down to the Mississippi; that they went as far as the Upper Creek nation; that they had received belts from all these nations, importing their compliance with the proposals made to them by the embassy.

"When they had finished their relation of this proposed union, they asked me whether

I did not think that every true friend to Indians would approve this scheme as wise and expedient, and then interrogated me, in my ministerial character, whether I did not think it would meet with the approbation and smiles of the Great Spirit above; and that he might build them up as a people. Their immediate object was the peace and good of Indians, and not war with any nation, neither Britons nor Americans, although they acknowledged that it would put them in a better state of defence, in case a war should ever break out and disturb their peace.

“They also observed to me, that Congress could not blame them for such conduct, neither ought they to be jealous of them; for what had Congress done but to unite thirteen states as one, all their wisdom and all their strength to become one? They at last expressed their confidence in me as their friend, although I was a white man, and believed I would not abuse this confidence. They then proposed my setting up a school for educating their children.”

Mr. Stone, in his “Life of Brant,” after giving a letter of his, dated Grand River, March 20th, 1788, says, “Nothing is known of his movements from this time, till he appeared in the neighborhood of Detroit, in Oc-

tober." From this journal of Mr. Kirkland, it appears how he was engaged, and had been since his return from England, in the early part of 1787. He was undoubtedly the moving spirit in this plan of union among the Indians. It was a wise and righteous policy, unhappily defeated by the counter policy of the United States, which was to "divide and govern," to poison the minds of the different tribes against each other, and, by severing their interests and their union, control and subjugate them.

The main object of this council on the Buffalo Creek was to extinguish the Indian title to a tract of six millions one hundred and forty-four thousand acres, familiarly called the *Genesee Country*, which the state of New York, in 1786, granted, without an equivalent, to the claims of the state of Massachusetts, ceding every thing but the right of sovereignty, and which tract the latter state, in 1787, had sold to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham for one million of dollars. No mention is made in the journal of Mr. Gorham as present. Mr. Phelps, as purchaser and commissioner from the state of Massachusetts, and an agent, or agents, of the government of New York, were present. The particulars of the treaty, the terms on which the Indians relinquished their

title, and the reservations made for their own occupancy, are not given; nor does Mr. Kirkland state his own specific services and opinions on the occasion. It appears from his journal, that, on four successive days, he had long private conferences with the chiefs, who desired him, "as a *friend* to Indians, and a servant and minister of Jesus, to assist them in a matter which deeply concerned their interests; the lease or sale of a part of their territory, which was unoccupied by them, and might be disposed of to the benefit of their children;" and also, that, on the conclusion of the business, the chiefs unanimously returned him their thanks for his friendly aid and advice. Among his papers also is a writing, dated in August, 1788, and signed by Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, by which they promise, that "in consideration of the services rendered to the purchasers of the western land, by the Reverend Mr. Kirkland, two thousand acres of land, within the said western territory, shall be appropriated and given gratis to the said Mr. Kirkland, for the accommodation of his sons, or for such other purposes as he may think proper."* It is probable, therefore, that by

* This promise was subsequently fulfilled, by a deed from Messrs. Gorham and Phelps, bearing date April

both parties, Mr. Kirkland's advice, suggestions, and services were considered valuable and important.

This is further confirmed by the fact, that toward the close of this year, in December, 1788, the state of New York and the Indians, conjointly, made a grant to Mr. Kirkland and his two eldest sons, of large and valuable tracts of land in the neighborhood of Oneida, amounting in all to about four thousand seven hundred and sixty acres. The patents, or deeds, of this grant bear date February 3d, 1790; but Mr. Kirkland took possession of a portion of it in 1789, cleared seven acres of land, and built a log-house, twenty-two feet by twenty-six, and ten feet high.

Returning from his western tour, in the latter part of August, Mr. Kirkland made a short visit to his family, and, early in the autumn, resumed the direct labors of his mission among the Oneidas, and prosecuted them assiduously through the winter. At this period, the intrigues and influence of the French traders among the Indians began to interfere with his usefulness. Under date of November 26th, he

22d, 1792, conveying to Mr. Kirkland two thousand acres of land in Ontario county, New York, "being part of Township No. 7, in the seventh range of towns."

writes in his journal, "Had a long conference with Good Peter last evening. He made me minutely acquainted with the state of my people during my tour to the westward, and with the artifices made use of by the French traders to increase their influence, and introduce an easier religion and broader path, than the Presbyterian doctrines would admit of." There were, at this time, three French traders among the Oneidas and neighboring Indians. The most prominent of them was a man by the name of Pennet, a person of great shrewdness, of a pleasing address, insinuating and plausible, and capable of much duplicity. Through the intrigues of these traders, particularly of Pennet, a portion of the Oneidas became much disaffected toward Mr. Kirkland, and often inveighed very bitterly and violently against his character, his sermons, and services. A French party, as it was called, was formed among the Indians; and in the spring of 1789, a French Roman Catholic priest, a Jesuit, made his appearance at Oneida, and took up his residence near the lake.

This priest claimed to have been sent up to the Oneidas by the French ambassador at New York, and in consequence of an application to him, to that effect, from the Oneidas themselves. At a council of the chiefs, held

on the 29th of May, a letter from the ambassador was produced, in which he "grounded the mission of the Romish priest to their country on their application to him by letter, and therefore enjoined it upon them to receive him kindly, give him a glebe of three hundred acres, clear a field, and build a house." This letter, when interpreted, excited much surprise and some indignation, and the chiefs alleged that, if any such letter had ever been written to the French ambassador, Mr. Pen-net, or some of his party, must have written it; they had never desired a Roman priest, or sent for one. The priest, however, supported by the traders and their party, continued to reside at the lake, adding the evils of religious dissension and animosity to the horrors of famine, from which, during the spring, and till the harvest of that year, the Oneidas suffered severely.

Mr. Kirkland endeavored to avoid, as carefully as he could, all connection with the disputes and divisions between "the French or Catholic and the American or Presbyterian parties;" but the spirit of jealousy and animosity at length arose to such a pitch, that the peace of the village and the whole tribe was really endangered. Each party wrote to Governor Clinton, of New York, upon the subject, who returned

the following answer, which was translated at a full council of the sachems and warriors.

“New York, September 12th, 1789.

“BROTHERS ;

“I have received your letters, and shall give you an answer. Mr. Pennet is only to be considered among you as an adventuring merchant, pursuing his own interest. He holds no office, nor does he sustain any public character in this country. He attempts to deceive you, therefore, when he says he is sent by the King of France and the Marquis Lafayette, to transact business with you. You ought not to listen to his speeches, nor pay any attention to his dreams.* The King of France is our good ally, and he has an ambassador here, (whom you saw with me at Fort

* Pennet had *dreamed* that the Oneidas gave him five miles square, in a particular place, containing some of the best land in their territory; and by the help and artifice of his adherents, had actually obtained a deed of the land dreamed for, signed by nearly one third of the tribe. He had also represented that the King of France would, within two years, take possession of all the western garrisons, receive all Indians under his protection, and see that they were no more deceived or imposed upon by the Americans or English; that this was the only way, by relinquishing to him the Indian lands, that Congress could pay to the King of France the great debt they owed to him.

Stanwix, last fall,) to transact business and maintain friendship with the United States; but he has nothing to do with any particular state, or the Indians residing in it. You must not, therefore, believe Mr. Pennet, when he says he is sent among you by the ambassador. I presume the priest now among you came at the request of Mr. Pennet and his friends. They have a right to worship God in a manner most agreeable to them. But I approve of your determination to adhere to your old minister; for I fear the preaching of different doctrines among you will only serve to perplex and puzzle your understandings; and divisions, either in respect to your temporal or spiritual concerns, may prove dangerous to your welfare and prosperity.

“Brothers; I am happy to hear you are firmly united, as to our late agreement, and you may be assured that it will be faithfully adhered to on the part of the state.

“Let me exhort you to sobriety and industry, for it is this alone, by the blessing of the Great Spirit, that can secure to you comfort and happiness.

“I am your friend and brother,

“GEORGE CLINTON.”

This letter did much to produce quiet, and

probably prevented some outbreak of violence, which, for some months, Mr. Kirkland had feared would take place between the two parties. It unmasked the character of Pennet, and confirmed the wavering in their attachment and adherence to their old minister, and the Presbyterian form of Christian faith and worship. It also had the effect of leading the attention of the more intelligent and reflecting among the chiefs to the general character and condition of Indians, and the reasons of the contrasts between them and white people. These chiefs summoned Mr. Kirkland, as a friend, and a minister of Jesus, to long and frequent conferences, in which the questions discussed were, whether the displeasure of Heaven did not, in a peculiar manner, rest upon the Indian nations, and whether, in consequence of this displeasure or curse of the Great Spirit, it was not impossible for them to reform and become prosperous nations, like the white people. Some of the Oneida chiefs, of very considerable abilities, and well acquainted with divine revelation, in order to quiet their consciences, and justify themselves in their general course of idleness, intemperance, stupidity, and ingratitude, had adopted the sentiment, that the curse of God was upon Indians, and, let them exert themselves ever so much, all at-

tempts at improvement and progress corresponding to the whites, would be utterly fruitless, till this curse was removed.

These conferences gave Mr. Kirkland great anxiety and labor, not only from the delicate and intricate nature of the subjects, but from the disposition of some of the Indians who were present, who, as he well knew, had imbibed a great jealousy of the white people, and a deep-rooted prejudice against them, however they might endeavor to conceal and restrain it in their general deportment. They could not but behold the changes and contrasts produced by the growing prosperity of the whites; and, beholding these, they would often break out in bitter and impassioned exclamations, "The rivers and harbors, which received only a few canoes of ours, are now crowded with the great ships of the white people! Where we had only a few smokes," (wigwams,) "they have now great cities and lofty houses! Lands, which our forefathers sold for a few pence, could not now be purchased of the whites for a hundred or a thousand dollars!" And then their breasts would rise and swell, and their nostrils dilate, and their eyes flash, till it would almost seem that their resentment and indignation could no longer brook restraint.

It was necessary to meet this state of feel-

ing with great tenderness and prudence. Mr. Kirkland endeavored to do so, by unfolding to them the general natural and moral causes of the rise and prosperity of nations, and illustrating the influence of these causes in producing the difference between them and the English, or white people. He frankly admitted to them, that many of their practices were doubtless highly displeasing to God, as were also many things among the whites; but he aimed to show them that no special displeasure of the Almighty rested upon them; that what was sad, and pitiable, and afflictive, in their condition, was the result of their own folly and imprudence. He sought to cheer and encourage them, with the assurance that, if they would overcome their indolence and their love of intoxicating drinks, be industrious, sober, upright, and pure, they could hope to retrieve much of the past, and attain an enviable condition of prosperity, comfort, and happiness; though, at the same time, he reminded them that Christ's kingdom was not of this world, and that temporal prosperity and external grandeur and glory were nowhere promised in the gospel to individuals or nations, as a reward for embracing it.

In his journal, at the close of the brief account of them, from which the foregoing par-

ticulars have been gathered, he says, "These conferences were not only very affecting, but very entertaining. I could wish the whole might have been written, but I was too much overdone and fatigued to commit it all to writing." They had a favorable effect in reviving the spirits and confidence of the Indians; and the summer of 1790 was one of comparative quiet, industry, and progress, in things temporal and spiritual. Taught a lesson of wisdom by the severe sufferings from famine experienced the previous year, they paid greater attention to agriculture; and larger provision was made for support in the planting of corn and wheat. One family harvested more than one hundred bushels of wheat, a greater quantity than was ever before raised in the territory of the Six Nations by Indian culture.

The whole of this season, from the first of May to the last of November, Mr. Kirkland passed at Oneida and its immediate vicinity. His circuit included five or six different villages; he preached three times every Sunday, and held various evening conferences, in matters temporal and spiritual, during the week. These Indian conferences often lasted till past midnight. So often does this fact occur, that, in one of his journals, he remarks, by way of apology and explanation, "These nocturnal

conferences will undoubtedly be condemned by those who are unacquainted with Indians, and my situation among them. When their minds are more than usually engaged to inquire into any important subject, their feelings would be very much hurt by my refusing to discuss it with them as long as they desired; and the subject itself perhaps would be never after revived."

The only incident giving variety to his life this summer, was the arrival at Oneida, in the month of August, of an Italian nobleman, Count Adriani, who brought letters of introduction to Mr. Kirkland from General Schuyler. He spent several days at Oneida; the Indians held a grand council, and invited him to attend, and made him a congratulatory address; but the chief pleasure Mr. Kirkland had in his visit seems to have been the satisfaction of having the Count's high authority, in confirmation of his own often expressed opinion, respecting the musical powers of the Indians. "The melody of their music, and the softness and richness of their voices, he thought were equal to any he ever heard in Italy."

Early in December, at the urgent request of many Indian chiefs, particularly of Brant, and of several distinguished individuals among the white people, Mr. Kirkland went to Phila-

delphia, to assist a delegation of Senecas, who had proceeded to that city to lay some grievances before Congress, and to ask for the aid of the United States government in introducing agriculture and the arts of civilized life among the Senecas. The head of this delegation was Captain Abiel, better known as Cornplanter, the celebrated Seneca chief, residing upon the Allegany. His Indian name was Kayentuhaghke. In the course of a few weeks, the business of the delegation with Congress was satisfactorily arranged; but the most important result of Mr. Kirkland's connection with it was the conversion of Cornplanter to the Christian faith, through the opportunities afforded for religious conversation with him during his stay in Philadelphia.

His acquaintance with this celebrated chief commenced six years before, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1784. He was then strongly attached to the faith of his fathers, and very zealous for its support. At that time also, and at their occasional meetings subsequently, his mind was so engrossed by the civil matters that brought them together, that the truths of the Christian religion could not have a fair hearing from him. But at Philadelphia, during the necessary delays, and intervals of leisure, in the transaction of his business with

the government, opportunities were afforded for awakening his devout attention and confirming his Christian faith.

In his journal, he writes, "I do not now regret my journey. I think I never enjoyed more agreeable society with any Indian than Captain Abiel has afforded me. He seems raised up by Providence for the good of his nation. He exhibits uncommon genius, possesses a very strong and distinguishing mind, and will bear the most mental application of any Indian I was ever acquainted with. When the business he came upon did not require his immediate attention, he would be incessantly engaged in conversation upon the subject of divine revelation. He appeared anxious, as well as curious, in his inquiries for the evidences of the Scripture account of creation, the Christian scheme of doctrine, and the effects Christianity would produce upon the various nations of the earth, under the administration of the Son of God. No subject seemed to animate his mind and excite his inquiries more, than the universal peace and harmony that should take place in the latter day. He would many times not leave the subject short of three and four hours' conversation. For the last week I was with them, he would not allow the sachems and warriors to sit down

at meal-time, without having me ask the divine blessing upon the food. He is an exception, in regard to sobriety and temperance, to the generality of Indians, never having been once intoxicated during the whole course of his life. At our parting, he observed to me, that his business with Congress was settled to his entire satisfaction, and he believed it would gratify every wish of his nation, and he should return well stored with provisions by the way; but through the wonderful good providence of God, he had a richer store of spiritual food, out of which he could take a portion for his mind to feed upon and digest every day through his long journey; and that he could not sufficiently thank the Great Spirit for giving him this opportunity of being so long with me."

CHAPTER IX.

Returns from Philadelphia. — Corresponds with Brant and General Knox respecting the Western Indians. — Completes a Census of the Six Nations. — Commissioned by the War Department to Conduct to Philadelphia a Delegation of Indian Chiefs. — Difficulties and Ultimate Success. — Importance of this Mission. — Returns to Oneida.

LEAVING Philadelphia, about the middle of January, he made a brief visit to his children at Stockbridge, resumed his duties at Oneida early in February, and passed the spring and summer in the most various, arduous, and incessant labors, for the temporal and spiritual good of the Indians. In addition to preaching commonly three times on Sunday, at one or another of the Indian villages under his charge, visiting the sick and holding two or three conference meetings during the week, he devoted much time and labor to the practical instruction of the Indians in agriculture, directing and helping them in preparing their fields and sowing their grain. In the month of April, a grand council of the Oneida nation was several days in session, to settle a diffi-

culty of long standing, caused by the intrigues of the French traders, between the Wolf tribe and the Turtle and Bear tribes.

To bring matters to a peaceful issue, which he happily succeeded in doing, Mr. Kirkland was compelled to take an active part in the proceedings of this council, and to spend much time in preliminary interviews with the principal men of the tribes at variance with each other. At this period, also, he digested and prepared "A Plan of Education for the Indians, particularly of the Five Nations," it being the purpose and the desire of the Society in Scotland to establish two schools, one in the neighborhood of Oneida, the other among the Senecas in the Genesee country. A copy of this plan he transmitted to the Secretary of the Board of Commissioners in Boston, Reverend Dr. Thacher, and sent another copy to Colonel Timothy Pickering, with whom he became acquainted at the treaty at Buffalo Creek, and whose personal interest and official influence in Indian affairs made it desirable to have his approbation and encouragement in whatever efforts of this kind should be made. The plan, indeed, contemplated aid from the United States for its execution.

In the midst of all these labors, during the winter of 1790-91, the state of the western In-

dians, and their hostile demonstrations on the Miami, excited his attention as a missionary and a citizen, and led to frequent correspondence with Brant, and with General Knox, the head of the war department.

On the 8th of March, 1791, he received a long letter from Brant, in which, after discussing with much ability the obstacles to the introduction of civilization and Christianity, and giving some account of the progress of an "Indian History," which he was preparing, he says,

"It has been my constant study, since the peace between Great Britain and the United States, to unite the Indians together, and make such a peace between them and the States, as would remove all prejudices, and enable us to sit quietly down on our seats, free from apprehension and jealousy, and become, if not more respectable, at least not more contemptible.

"You also wish me to suggest my ideas of the practicability of an accommodation between the western Indians and the United States; to which I answer, candidly, that I think it still practicable, if proper measures are pursued by the States; but they must change their system materially, lay down the hatchet, and call a general treaty with the united nations. If they are sincere in their

pretensions to establish peace and live friendly with all the Indian nations, they should cherish the union, and make such proposals as will place the Indians on a more respectable footing than they have hitherto attempted. Give up the idea of taking possession of their country as conquered land. Abandon that wicked mode of calling them out in separate tribes or parties, to treat with them, which only serves to irritate and inflame their minds, instead of healing the sore and removing the prevailing prejudices. Let the Americans look back, and take a view of their own affairs. At the beginning of the late war, they say themselves, that it was not the amount of tax, but the manner of levying it, that gave disgust, because it was opening the door for extending it to posterity without bounds.

“Now, it is not the quantity of lands claimed at this time, which alarms the Indians, but the principles upon which it is claimed, because it is opening a door for extending it over the whole of the Indian lands within the United States, which would be very hard, and the highest degree of injustice upon nine tenths of the Indians, who, so far from taking any active part against the Americans in the late war, hardly heard of such a war; but as the idea of conquest circulates among them, the con-

tagion becomes more alarming, and every man feels the injury, and makes it his own case, as your people did; by which means the disgust is spreading where no prejudice had before existed. Then continuing the war will unite them against you, and prejudices will take such root that they will not be easily erased. Whereas, making a general peace, and endeavoring to unite them as a free and happy people, will win their affections; and whoever is most instrumental, in accomplishing that happy end, will be most likely to reap the advantages which it must produce."

On the 22d of April, Mr. Kirkland wrote to General Knox, enclosing a copy of the above letter from Brant for his private perusal; and, after some general observations on the contents of the letter and the condition of the western Indians, he added,

"As I deprecate an Indian war from every principle of humanity and policy, permit me, Sir, to suggest the idea of sending Captain Hendrick, one of the chiefs of the Stockbridge tribe, to the westward. This tribe had formerly more influence with the Miamies, Shawanese, Delawares, and Chippewas, than all the Six Nations. Captain Hendrick is well acquainted with their customs and manners, and has since the war received several invitations

to make them a visit. He flatters himself he could convince them of the justice and goodness of Congress, in the treatment they are disposed to extend to all Indians, and persuade them to lay down the hatchet, till they could give Congress one fair hearing. As you are in a measure a stranger to Captain Hendrick, allow me to say, from long personal acquaintance with him, that he is very little inferior to Cornplanter, who himself has a high esteem for the Stockbridge chief. Captain Hendrick will either go in the name and behalf of his own nation, or at your direction, as may be thought best, if he can only be furnished for the journey with the necessary articles of clothing, belts, and strings of wampum, with a little pocket money, the whole amount of which would be no more than fifty or sixty dollars. Should the proposal meet your approbation, as bearing the marks of humanity and good policy, you will honor me with the earliest notice, as no time should be lost, and every aid in my power shall be most cheerfully contributed."

In reply to this, General Knox wrote on the 11th of May following, "I highly approve of Captain Hendrick's being employed, and will make good any reasonable allowance to him for his services. Let him call on Colonel

Pickering, at Wyoming, who will furnish him with clothing and necessaries for the present. Colonel Brant is right as to the principle of the boundaries. The idea of future conquest ought to be relinquished, and fair purchase and optional sale take place. I shall be glad to hear that you have pushed forward Captain Hendrick.”*

Late in the month of May, Mr. Kirkland took a short respite from his labors, and visited his children at Stockbridge. From one of his letters, it appears that the primary object of this journey was to meet Brant at Albany, and proceed with him to Philadelphia; but, the Mohawk chief failing to keep his appointment, Mr. Kirkland returned to Oneida, where he passed the summer and autumn in the discharge of the immediate duties of his mission.

An accurate census of the Six Nations had for some time occupied his attention. In the course of this summer, he completed “A Statement of the Numbers and Situation of the Six

* Mr. Stone, in his “Life of Brant,” ascribes this mission of Captain Hendrick to the western Indians to Colonel Pickering, and says, that he induced him to undertake it. The above correspondence shows that Mr. Kirkland suggested it, and it was through his influence, probably, that the Stockbridge chief entered upon the mission.

United Nations of Indians in North America," and sent a copy of it to the president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which honorable body he had recently been chosen a member. His journal for this period contains no important facts or events; but the daily incidents of his missionary life, which it narrates, are often strikingly illustrative of Indian character, and serve to unfold the struggle between Christianity and paganism, which was going on among them. This struggle showed itself in connection with the use and sale of intoxicating drinks. The Christian Indians, under the lead of Mr. Kirkland, were very desirous to put a stop to this evil. The pagan Indians, who often disturbed religious meetings, and "made night hideous" with their revels, were not in favor of any such movement. After long deliberations, and repeated efforts, the Christian party succeeded in procuring the adoption and enforcement of several regulations, that greatly promoted the cause of temperance, by lessening the facilities to intoxication.

This struggle showed itself also in connection with the subject of death. A young Indian woman, of the Christian faith, but of a nervous and excitable temperament, was overwhelmed with dismay at the approach of death,

and suffered great mental anguish during the closing hours of life. Not long after her decease, an aged Tuscarora chief, fast approaching the grave, a strict pagan, raised himself one morning, and addressed his grandchild, who had shown some inclination to the Christian faith, in the following manner.

“ Well, grandchild, you are going to become one of those Christians, who worship God by a book, and you will go to a place which their book tells of when you die. But no one has been there, and returned to acquaint you with the nature of that place, and the mode of their living. Grandchild, I have repeatedly warned you of this, and told you to make your choice, and if you choose an uncertainty for a certainty, you must abide the consequences. My brother came to me, on a friendly visit, the last night. He came direct from *Eskanane*, (the city of departed spirits.) I asked him if he had come to call me to go and take up my final residence with my forefathers in *Eskanane*. He replied, ‘ Not yet; you are to tarry here a little longer; but I came to inform you, that your old friends are happy there, and wait your arrival, and that your apartment is prepared for you; and in three moons I shall return with orders to conduct you safe to your fathers.’ Now, grandchild,

the Christian's book knows nothing of this; nor does it know any thing with respect to the government of our island, (America.) Grandchild, our island is supported by four little Gods. One resides at the east, called *Tyogetoet*, (rising up, making its appearance;) another at the west, called *Yucalaghphki*, (the twilight;) another at the north, called *Jothoel*, (a little cold;) a fourth, at the south, *Unte*. Grandchild, the Christian's book knows nothing of all this; indeed, it knows nothing about Indians. Grandchild, this is my last warning to you. Within three months, my brother will be sent by the spirits of my fathers to call me; then I shall bid you all farewell; and if you forsake the path of your forefathers, I shall never see you any more."

Before the three moons had passed, the old chief died without a struggle, or a groan, and in the utmost composure of mind. Here was a contrast that made a strong impression; here was a subtile question to discuss, the cause of this contrast, the reason why some Christians have such fearful apprehensions of death, while true pagans meet it with great composure and undaunted courage. Many were the conferences, public and private, in which this matter had to be treated of and explained to Indian comprehension. The im-

pressions unfavorable to Christianity, which had been made upon some minds, were removed, partly by the judicious explanations of the missionary, and partly by an incident, of a character not to be detailed, which threw suspicion and distrust over the moral power of the pagan faith; the gospel made progress and gained fresh adherents, and at the close of his labors in the autumn, Mr. Kirkland felt that he "had reason to bless God, that divine truths had got access to the hearts of many of the poor Indians."

The ensuing winter called him to a somewhat new sphere of duty. The mission of Captain Hendrick, to which reference has been made, was not successful. The western Indians continued their hostile spirit and demonstrations; and, on the 4th of November, they completely routed the American forces, under General St. Clair, in a most furious and bloody battle, fought in the neighborhood of the Miami villages. At the treaty held by Colonel Pickering, at the Painted Post, in June previous, it was arranged that some of the chiefs of the Six Nations should visit the seat of government during the session of Congress, the next winter, to consult on the best method of introducing the advantages and blessings of civilization among them; an object unques-

tionably dear to the heart of Washington, and which he was desirous of using the powers of the federal government, so far as it could be done, to effect. It was thought, also, that this visit would impress them with such an idea of the strength and resources of the country, that they would see the folly of an attempt, on the part of the Indians, to wage war against the United States, and, seeing this, make a virtue of necessity, and become cordially attached to them.

The disastrous defeat of General St. Clair, the great victory gained by the Indians in the battle of the Miami, and which it was justly apprehended would have an influence on the minds of the Six Nations unfavorable to the United States, gave fresh importance to this contemplated visit of the chiefs of the Six Nations, and increased the desire felt at the seat of government for its successful accomplishment. Colonel Pickering had already sent a general letter of invitation, in which certain distinguished chiefs were named, and among them Captain Brant. Shortly after, under date of December 20th, Mr. Kirkland received a communication from General Knox, requesting him to write to Brant, in his own name, and exert his personal influence to induce that distinguished chief to accept Colonel Pickering's

invitation, assuring him of safety and a welcome reception; to send Indian runners to the other chiefs named in the invitation; to appoint Geneseo as the place of meeting of the said chiefs; to repair thither himself at the appointed time, and conduct them thence to Philadelphia, by the way of Tioga and Luzerne counties; in short, to take a general charge of the whole matter.

“Your knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians,” says the communication, “a confidence in your character and integrity, induce me to place an entire reliance on you relatively to this business. I shall depend upon receiving your communications upon all necessary occasions, and particularly I shall wish to obtain as early information as possible of the effect, which the late defeat of our army has had upon the minds of the Six Nations, particularly of the Senecas. You will not fail, upon all proper occasions, to impress on the minds of all Indians, so that the sentiment may be diffused far and wide, that the President of the United States, and Congress, are highly desirous of being the protectors, friends, and ministers of good to all peaceably disposed Indians; but, at the same time, they will punish all murderers and disturbers of the peace of the frontiers.”

In compliance with the wishes of the war department, he immediately repaired to Genesee, first writing to Brant from Oneida. This letter is dated January 3d, 1792. After a page and a half of personal and preliminary matters, it proceeds;

"I have the pleasure, my dear friend, to inform you, that the civilization of the various Indian tribes has become an object of attention with the general government, which, in regard to Indians, bears a very different complexion from the state governments. The Creeks and the Cherokees have begun to feel the good effects of it. For this establishment we are not a little indebted to the humanity and wisdom of our illustrious President, the goodness of whose heart, and the rectitude of whose intentions, are become the admiration of many states and kingdoms. I do not wonder, that, after all the great characters you have seen in your tour to Europe, you should still indulge a curiosity of getting 'a look at the great American chief, Washington,' as you once expressed it. I can assure you I think it a laudable curiosity. A certain foreigner lately observed on the occasion, that he had been introduced to the King of England and the King of France, but he never felt the presence of a man before, as when introduced to

President Washington. However, my friend, he is but a man, after all; but a man with whom America and the world are blessed."*

The letter then alludes to the treaty held in June, and thus proceeds; "Colonel Pickering would have been very glad to have seen you there, and I find he has expressed a desire, in a message he has had occasion lately to send, that you should now accompany a delegation from the Six Nations to the seat of government. Permit me, my dear friend, to entreat you, as *a friend to Indians*, to improve this favorable juncture. I will accompany you in person through the whole tour, if you choose it. As to my own feelings, and the good will I bear, both towards your person and character, you want no further assurance, than what passed between us at Fort Stanwix. Your own personal merit will insure you a cordial welcome, and every mark of respect you could wish. I know of no person who is under equal advantages, and more

* In his "Life of Brant," Mr. Stone publishes Mr. Kirkland's second letter to the Mohawk chief, written from Geneseo, on the 17th of February; but the one in the context was the first and most important one, in which he endeavored to present most persuasively the considerations, which he thought would induce Brant to join the delegation to Philadelphia.

capable of contributing to the happiness and real interests of the poor Indians, than you are. However, I must earnestly request a personal interview. Should your situation forbid the undertaking so long a journey, I will meet you the 20th day of January, at Geneseo, or any place in its vicinity you shall appoint, that may be more convenient. There are many things of importance relative to the Indians, upon which I am desirous of a conference with you. Perhaps there never was a time, my friend, since you came upon the stage, in which you might render more essential service to the cause of humanity, than the present, and which invites you to acquire a character equally conspicuous for goodness of heart and for enterprise and bravery, and finally to meet the approbation of your conscience and the plaudit of your God.

"Many of your worthy friends will be glad to see you, and none more so than

Your affectionate friend and father,

"S. K.

"LANADANOUHNE.

"P. S. My best salutations await your family particularly, and Captain David's. My love to all my dear children at Grand River. I hope, in some future day, to comply with your invitation, and make them a visit before I quit the stage."

Having despatched this letter to Brant, and sent runners to the chiefs, requesting them to meet him, in accordance with Colonel Pickering's invitation, Mr. Kirkland started for Geneseo, accompanied by several of the Oneida chiefs. But everywhere, as he proceeded westward, he found a state of things unfavorable to the object intrusted to his management. The battle at the Miami, and the signal triumph of the Indians, had produced a great sensation among the Six Nations. The weak and timid were alarmed. In the young and strong the thirst for war was excited; they longed to share in the spoils and the glory of such another victory. Reports were in circulation, that the western Indians would insist upon the Six Nations joining their confederacy, and would attack them in the spring; if they did not relinquish the protection and friendship of the United States; and so strong were the Indian sympathies of many, that they were disposed to adopt this course as the path of safety and wisdom. Of the chiefs invited, only a small number came to Geneseo at the time appointed; of these, some were listless and indifferent, others directly opposed to the visit to the seat of government; several went away to attend a secret council, that is, a council at which no white man was permitted

to be present, which had been called at Buffalo Creek; and, finally, Brant wrote a long letter, entering largely into Indian politics, discussing at length the grounds on which peace could be established between the western tribes and the United States, expressing his satisfaction at the efforts of the general government to introduce civilization among the Indians, and pointing out the manner in which, in his opinion, these efforts must be conducted to be successful, but declining to accompany the delegation to Philadelphia, for several reasons, among which the two following are the most important.

"I cannot think," he says, "of accompanying some of those who, I dare say, will, agreeably to the invitation, go down, differing widely in opinion from them. This would, in some manner, make my jaunt disagreeable. I must further say, that the invitation to me was, in my opinion, in rather a cool kind of style, such as, even would circumstances admit of my now attending, my honor would forbid it.

"I am extremely sorry to be deprived of the pleasure of visiting your great warrior, President Washington, who, I dare say, is as fine a looking man as you describe him to be, and might, in the foreigner's opinion you mention, be a much finer man than either the

King of England or King of France. I have had the honor to be introduced to the King of England; a finer man than whom I think it would be a truly difficult task to find.”*

Several other letters in relation to this matter, besides those cited above, passed between Brant and Mr. Kirkland, and finally, at the suggestion of the latter, a direct and formal invitation to visit Philadelphia was sent to him by the Secretary of War; but the British influence at Niagara was powerful enough to induce Brant to decline its immediate acceptance.† This influence, the threats of the western Indians, and the jealousies among the chiefs of the Six Nations themselves, placed such obstacles in his way, that it was not till the 25th of February, that Mr. Kirkland was able to write to General Knox from Canandaigua, as follows.

“Sir; After surmounting many difficulties, I have the honor to inform you, that I arrived here on Wednesday evening, with about forty chiefs and warriors, a complete representation of the Five Nations; the Fish Carrier and one village on the Allegany excepted.

“You may, Sir, at first view, think me im-

* See Appendix.

† Captain Brant subsequently visited Philadelphia, in the month of July, 1792.

prudent in admitting so large a representation to go down; but the critical situation of our affairs in this quarter, and the jealousies subsisting among the Indians, will, I believe, fully justify me in the extraordinary expense it will occasion. Indeed, my utmost exertions, with the aid of several of their chiefs, could not diminish the number, without giving offence, and perhaps wholly frustrating the object. So soon as I shall be favored with an opportunity of acquainting you fully with the present situation of the Indians, and the opposition that has been made to their going down, you will rather wonder that I obtained a single Indian, and would rather have had me bring five hundred than to fail of the delegation."

Mr. Kirkland's conduct was entirely approved by the war department. Colonel Proctor was despatched to meet him, and protect the delegation from all insult or molestation by the way; and late in the month of March they reached Philadelphia, where, being the largest and most important Indian representation, that had ever visited the seat of government, they were received with considerable display, and a congratulatory address was made to them by Governor Mifflin, chief magistrate of the state of Pennsylvania.

The deaths of two chiefs of the delegation,

French Peter and Big Tree, and the intelligence received of the death, at Buffalo, of the only son of another celebrated chief, the Farmer's Brother, requiring all other matters to be postponed while the Indian mourning solemnities appropriate to these events were held, caused such delays, that nearly six weeks elapsed before the business of the delegation was accomplished. The credit and success of bringing this large representation of the Six Nations to the seat of government, are attributable mainly to Mr. Kirkland's efforts and personal influence with the Indians. Its results were important and beneficial. When he went westward from Oneida, in January, there was a strong and growing desire among all the Six Nations, with the exception of the Oneidas, to make common cause with the western Indians, and to place themselves in a hostile attitude towards the United States. Had they done so, the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, instead of the territory northwest of the Ohio, would have been made the scene of savage warfare and barbarity. The visit to the seat of government of so large a number of chiefs prevented this. At a critical moment, when they were wavering in their course, it secured to the United States the peace and

friendship of the Six Nations, and made them mediators between the federal government and the western Indians; an office which they discharged with singular independence and fidelity to both parties, though without success. It secured to the Six Nations a larger measure of the patronage and efforts of the government in their behalf, for the promotion of education, and the introduction of agriculture and the arts of civilization among them.

In all the negotiations between the United States' commissioners and the western Indians in the summer of 1793, the chiefs of the Six Nations, who were present, with Captain Brant at their head, "held fast together" as the advocates of peace, urging both parties to recede somewhat from the position each had assumed; and the *ultimatum* of the council at the Miami Rapids, insisting on the Ohio as the boundary, (a decision, which, through the operation of the stern law of the strongest, ended in the Indians being driven beyond the Mississippi,) was adopted and despatched to the commissioners, without being communicated to the representatives of the Six Nations.

Mr. Kirkland returned to Oneida about the middle of May, rejoicing to get back to the immediate duties of his mission, but trusting

that he had been in the way of his duty, and had rendered some service to his country, to the Indians, and to the cause of humanity, during his absence.

CHAPTER X.

Removal of his Family to the Neighborhood of Oneida. — Visits Dartmouth and Cambridge, accompanied by an Oneida Chief, Onondago. — Efforts in Behalf of Education among the Indians. — Charter obtained for Hamilton Oneida Academy. — Mr. Kirkland makes a large Donation to it in Lands. — His Family Misfortunes. — Pecuniary Embarrassments. — Death of two of his Sons. — Conduct of the Society in Scotland. — He is continued in the Employ of the Corporation of Harvard. — Usefulness of his last Years. — His Death.

HAVING cleared a few acres, and erected a log-house at a beautiful spot on the southern portion of the land granted to him by the Indians and the state of New York, Mr. Kirkland had his family removed thither from Stockbridge, in October, 1791. Unable to superintend the removal of his family himself, it

was done under the direction of his son, John Thornton, who passed the winter in charge of his father's domestic affairs, and, after his return from Philadelphia, proceeded to Cambridge, where he had graduated in 1789, to complete his preparation for the ministry, under Professor Tappan, having previously been for some time a pupil of Dr. West, at Stockbridge.

His experience of one winter in the wilderness filled him with a strong sympathy for his sisters, the eldest of whom was several years younger than himself. Writing to his father, shortly after his arrival at Cambridge, he says,

“I hope, my dear Sir, that you will not keep your daughters, while they are young and in the forming period of their lives, for a long time together in the western country. They cannot, and will not, there acquire those virtues and habits of thinking and acting, which will make them useful and pleasing. If you would have the young possess social virtues, be fitted to enjoy, adorn, and bless society, they must pass some time in social life. It is no disadvantage to a young woman to live in retirement, after her temper, understanding, and manners have been formed aright by suitable instructors, and the company of cultivated, refined, and virtuous persons. But to be secluded from society

before that, must have a pernicious and fatal influence on the character. It will beget in my sisters an indifference and listlessness of mind, or a petulance, discontent, and despondence that will make them most unhappy in themselves, uncomfortable to others, the pity and the grief of their friends. The inducements arising from a regard to the peace of one's own family are not always sufficiently powerful motives to self-government, activity, and cheerfulness. We all too much think ourselves at liberty to act, and look, and talk as we please at home, and need the influence of those with whom we are less familiar to make us uniformly courteous, obliging, just, and kind, in our deportment.

"I endeavored, while with them, to keep off from my sisters that languor, which retirement and want of engagement commonly occasion, by encouraging application to the few employments their situation and opportunities afforded. But their habits are so little confirmed, that they fall much short of perfection. They are formed by nature for excelling in every thing lovely and noble, but education must cherish what nature has planted, or no beauties will grow in their minds and characters. An enlarged, liberal, and complete education must be afforded them, and I hope to hear that you have taken the necessary steps.

As to your change of situation, so much to be desired by us all, I fear we have little reason to expect it very soon. An amiable woman would be received in the character of a mother, with the utmost cordiality of affection and respect." *

This was the natural solicitude of a brother, who had received himself the best advantages of education, which the country afforded. It touched a chord that had often vibrated before in the father's heart, and his daughters were sent away in turn, one to Connecticut, and the two others to the Moravian school at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where their progress in all the accomplishments that adorn and the virtues that elevate and dignify character was such, that their return made his home in the wilderness a pleasant and joyous abode.†

* The pledge here given was fully redeemed. Mr. Kirkland was married, a second time, in 1796, to Mary Donnally. This lady, who had long been intimate in the family, and had occasionally taken the charge of his children and household at Stockbridge, secured, and to her death preserved, the high respect, confidence, and affection of the children of her husband, whom she survived nearly thirty years. She died at Clinton, in August, 1839, aged eighty-four.

† These daughters were subsequently married, the eldest, Jerusha, (the only survivor of the family,) in 1797, to John H. Lothrop, of Utica; the next, Sarah, in 1804, to Francis Amory, of Boston; the youngest, Eliza, in 1818, to Dr. Edward Robinson, then professor in Hamilton College.

After his return from Philadelphia, in May, Mr. Kirkland spent the summer in the discharge of his missionary duties, and, in aiding and superintending the measures adopted and the appropriations made by the United States government, in conformity with his "Plan of Education," submitted to Colonel Pickering the year before, for the instruction of the Indians in agriculture and the arts of civilized life. The schools and means of education were enlarged, mills and workshops were erected, additional oxen, ploughs, and other farming utensils purchased and distributed, and an appearance of industry, and thrift, and intelligence began to spread itself over a portion of the Oneida nation.*

In August, Mr. Kirkland went to Hanover, to attend the Commencement at Dartmouth College, his son George Whitefield, of the gradu-

She survived her marriage only one year, and died leaving no issue. Two of his sons, George Whitefield and Samuel, died before him, unmarried. The other, John Thornton, married late in life, and had no children; so that there is no direct descendant, in the male line, bearing the name of Kirkland.

* By the treaty, or convention, made with the chiefs of the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, on the 25th of April, an annual bounty of fifteen hundred dollars was to be paid to them. General Israel Chapin, deputy agent to the Six Nations, was intrusted with the division and application of this sum for the purposes mentioned in the context.

ating class, having the salutatory oration. He was accompanied by a distinguished Oneida chief, Onondago, called by the English Captain John. The Board of Trustees took special notice of Mr. Kirkland's presence at Commencement, and presented to him, engrossed on parchment, with the seal of the college attached, a resolution, or certificate, expressing their pleasure at seeing him, and the satisfaction they felt at the recollection of his generous and benevolent labors to introduce the religion of the Redeemer, and the blessings of education and civilization, among the Indians. In the course of the day, President Wheelock made an address to the chief, Onondago, who replied at some length. A copy of his speech is preserved among Mr. Kirkland's papers. At the conclusion of it, he addressed the graduating class as follows;

"My young brothers, I salute you. My very heart has been gladdened by your pleasant voices. Although I understand but little of your language, I see marks of wisdom, and an enlarged mind, in many things you have said in your talks this day. This is the place for enlightening the mind. You are now to leave it and go forth into the world.

"My young brothers, attend. In the world there are many things which cause the un-

wary to step out of the right path. Hear what I say. Be watchful. Do not forget what you have learned. Never deviate from the straight path. It has been marked out by the instructions of your chief teacher. Walk in it. Let every step in your future life tell whence you received your instruction, and show that you love peace and the true religion, and the Great Spirit will bless you. The light begins to break forth a little among us in yonder wilderness towards the setting sun. Brothers, this is all I have to say. Farewell."

From Hanover he proceeded to Boston, to confer with the Board of Commissioners upon his "Plan of Education," submitted the year before, and to give Onondago an opportunity to see a place, which for half a century had been so famous and so important in the eyes of the Six Nations. In consequence of the prevalence of the smallpox in Boston, they took up their lodgings in Charlestown, where Mr. Thomas Russell showed much kindness and attention both to Mr. Kirkland and the Indian chief, who was amazingly delighted with his house, furniture, and garden, as they surpassed every thing of the kind he had ever seen before. On Sunday, Mr. Kirkland preached for Dr. Morse; but Onondago declined attending, because, as he expressed it, an "In-

dian is a strange sight here. If I go to church, the people will all look to me, and forget to worship the Great Spirit with the heart." The vanity of the speech may be pardoned for the probable truth it contained.

The absence of several of the commissioners, in consequence of the prevalence of the smallpox, made it impossible to have a meeting of the Board. Mr. Kirkland had several interviews, however, with President Willard and Dr. Wigglesworth, at Cambridge, two of the committee of the Board, to whom his "Plan" had been referred. On the 4th of September, Onondago visited Cambridge by invitation, when the president, and others who conversed with him, soon discovered, as Mr. Kirkland writes in his journal, "that he was a person of uncommon abilities and a very discriminating mind." After he had viewed the library and philosophical apparatus, President Willard addressed to him a speech, and gave to him some small presents in the name of the corporation. Onondago's reply "was pertinent and highly acceptable to the president."

This visit to Cambridge made a strong impression on the mind of the Indian chief, and he had much to say about it on their journey back to Oneida, upon which they set out

the next day. The orrery, or, as he called it, "the sun, moon, and star machine," interested him very much. He had great fears that he should not be able to describe it, so as to make it intelligible to his nation, and that they would ridicule it as "some magic work." He said, that he understood it himself, and that "it gave him an idea of God's government of the natural world, and of the power and agency of the Great Spirit, such as he had never had before, and that he did not wonder now that white people believed so firmly in the wisdom, omnipresence, power, and universal providence of the great God." He expressed great delight and surprise, "that the wise men at Cambridge, with their knowledge of every thing about the works of God, in creation and providence, could nevertheless turn their attention to the interests and happiness of poor Indians."

The mind of Onondago, however, was often much dejected and depressed during the journey. He could not but contrast the wretched and abject state of his own nation with the condition of the white people, and ask, "Is not the God of the white people the God of the Indians also? Has he decreed, has he fixed in his eternal counsels, that there shall always be this difference? Has he loved one nation

too much, and another too little? Is he partial, unjust?" He told Mr. Kirkland, "that he had hard work to fight within his own breast, lest he should offend his Maker, by allowing or harboring thoughts that reflected upon the wisdom and goodness of his providence. His heart told him it was wrong; that it would be death to any man to think or to say that God, the great God, was unjust, and did not do right; yet that such thoughts would dart into his mind, and it sometimes seemed as though they would lodge there, and he could not drive them out."

The general effect of the visit to the east, however, was to encourage and animate the mind of the chief, and qualify him to exert a beneficial influence on his nation; which for a year or two he did, but afterwards became very profligate and depraved, and returned to his pagan faith.

They reached Oneida on the 2d of October, when, shortly after his arrival, Mr. Kirkland was gratified with a letter from his son, John Thornton, informing him that he had been chosen tutor in Harvard College. "I have ventured," he says, "to accept the office, though, through a knowledge of its difficulties and vexations, I did it with diffidence. I was sensible it would be agreeable to you,

thought it might be tolerable to myself, and in some respects advantageous. It is calculated to form a young man to prudence, circumspection, self-government, and industry. I have endeavored to estimate its duties and trials, and to furnish myself with maxims to guide and fortify me under them, and to have no fear but the fear of doing wrong." A few months later, however, in April, 1793, after a little experience, his son writes to him ;

"I am pursuing, as far as my tutorial occupations will admit, my studies in divinity. These occupations, however, employ much of my precious and hitherto wasted time. I am sorry that I took the office. I see not why men in our profession ought not to pursue their studies without distraction, as much as those in others. We have at least as much to learn, in order to be fitted to be ministers, as lawyers or physicians have ; and we ought therefore to have as much time and leisure to learn it in. Piety and holy zeal are undoubtedly the prime qualities in a Christian minister ; but zeal *without knowledge* is worse than no zeal, and knowledge cannot be acquired without calm, retired, and uninterrupted study. I endeavor to command as much of my time as I possibly can, and to elevate my mind above the little vexations and difficulties of my of-

fice. But every day, as it moves on, teaches me that a man needs a strong mind to be a good tutor and a successful student at the same time. To act the college constable, and think closely and search patiently and thoroughly for truth, are rather difficult matters to unite. Learning flourishes somewhat at college; Virtue is a guest not, I hope, wholly unknown, and Vice, deformed and hateful as she is, I am sorry to say, has her votaries."*

On his return from Boston with Onondago, Mr. Kirkland found a good degree of religious interest among the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and entered upon his missionary labors with the intention of a zealous and faithful devotion to them through the winter. But Provi-

* Preserved among Mr. Kirkland's papers are all the letters written to him by his son John Thornton, from the time of his leaving home to go to Andover Academy, in 1784, up to his father's death, in 1807. All these letters are strikingly characteristic; many of them curious, instructive, and entertaining, from their allusions to public men and public events, and their discussion of the various political and religious questions, that from time to time occupied the public mind. It was the intention of the writer to introduce a number of these letters into this memoir; but the limits to which this work is confined, as well as the consideration that the letters of the son did not properly belong to a memoir of the father, and would divert attention from him, compelled him to forego this purpose.

dence had ordered otherwise. His residence was now on his own land, near Clinton village, several miles from old Oneida. Riding thither through the woods one Sunday morning in October, a small branch of a tree slipped from his hand as he was pushing it out of his way, and struck him directly in the ball of the eye. The blow was not very painful at the time, nor did he apprehend any serious consequences. He proceeded to Oneida, and preached all day, and held a conference in the evening. His eye, however, never recovered from the effects of this blow. A few days after the accident, the pain in it became intense, with slight inflammation, and a considerable excitement of the whole nervous system. He continued, however, though unable to read or write, to discharge, for some weeks, his ministerial duties, preaching without notes, as was often his custom. In December, his sight and general health became so much affected, that his physician recommended a journey, change of scene, and application to oculists in New York or Philadelphia. Accordingly, towards the end of December, he left home, and proceeded to those cities.

He was the more disposed to undertake this journey, because, in addition to the benefit to his health, which he expected to derive from

it, it enabled him to do something for the furtherance of an object he had much at heart. His "Plan of Education for the Indians, particularly of the Five Nations," to which reference has already been made, contemplated, in addition to smaller schools,* in which the younger children were to be taught, the establishment of a high school or academy, in the vicinity of Oneida, and contiguous to some English settlement, at which "English youth were to be admitted, bearing the charges of their own education;" and a certain number of

* Schools of this kind, under the direction and patronage of the Society in Scotland, had been for some years established among the Oneidas and the remnants of other tribes living on their lands; one at Tuscarora, taught by Mr. Sampson Occum; another at old Oneida, by Jacob Reed; another at Kanonwolahale, by Mr. Caulkins. In these schools the children were taught the rudiments of arithmetic, and to read and write their own language and the English. The knowledge and ability to do this are still retained among them. In 1845, the writer visited the Oneidas at Green Bay, Wisconsin, to collect whatever traditionary information of his grandfather could be gathered among them, and to obtain a translation of letters and documents found among his papers, written in the Oneida tongue. At one of the families which he visited, he produced these papers, and two of the women who were present could read them with perfect ease. In looking them over, they came to one which produced a strong and visible emotion. Their countenances flushed, and their eyes sparkled, and through the Reverend Eleazur Williams, who acted as interpreter, (the women declining to

Indian youth, selected from the different nations of the confederacy, were to be received, after they had acquired the power to read and write the English and Indian languages, and "instructed in the principles of human nature, in the history of civil society, so as to be able to discern the difference between a *state of nature* and a *state of civilization*, and know what it is that makes one nation differ from another in wealth, power, and happiness, and in the principles of natural religion, the moral precepts, and the more plain and express doctrines of Christianity."

speak English, though they probably could have done so,) they earnestly besought the writer to give them that letter, as it was from their father, Honeyost, to Mr. Kirkland. Taking a translation of the letter, which was brief but honorable to the Indians, simply stating that, as the church at Oneida was in a dilapidated condition, the chiefs were willing and had agreed to appropriate the whole of the annuity, or bounty, they were to receive from the United States for that year, to repairing it, and asking Mr. Kirkland to overlook the work, and see "that God's house was put in perfect order," the writer gave them the original, and was well repaid by the expression of delight and gratitude that overspread their countenances. They immediately lost all interest in the other letters, and continued reading and re-reading the one that had been given them, exclaiming to each other, (as was interpreted,) "How beautiful! how wonderful! is it not? For forty years our father has slept in his grave, and here we have his very thoughts before us. He speaks now through this."

An institution of this kind, to be situated near what was then the boundary line between the white and Indian population, Mr. Kirkland had long regarded as of great importance for the improvement and benefit of both. Some preliminary steps had been already taken. The project was warmly seconded by all the intelligent and influential persons who had emigrated from New England, and settled in the neighborhood of Oneida, in the towns of Whites-town and Paris. They had faint hopes of any great benefit to the Indians, but they felt the importance of such an institution to their own families and the growing community around them.

In his journey to New York and Philadelphia, Mr. Kirkland endeavored to awaken a more general interest in this enterprise. He solicited and obtained considerable subscriptions to its funds. At New York he saw the Governor of the state, and the regents of the university, and, empowered by his associates, took the initiatory steps towards procuring a charter, which was granted in 1793. The institution was incorporated under the name of Hamilton Oneida Academy. At Philadelphia, he saw President Washington, who "expressed a warm interest in the institution," as also did Colonel

Pickering* and Mr. Hamilton, the latter of whom consented to be named as one of the trustees in the petition for incorporation, and promised to afford it all the aid in his power.

But his services in behalf of this institution did not end here. In April, 1793, soon after the charter was obtained, he made it a valuable donation in lands. "A serious consideration," so recites the preamble of the deed, "of the importance of education, and an early improvement and cultivation of the human mind, together with the situation of the frontier settlements of this part of the state, though extensive and flourishing, yet destitute of any well regulated seminary of learning, has induced and determined me to contribute of the ability wherewith my heavenly Benefactor hath blessed me, towards laying the foundation and support of a school or academy in the town

* A copy of his "Plan of Education" had been submitted to Colonel Pickering by Mr. Kirkland, more than a year before. Among his papers is a long document from Colonel Pickering, containing criticisms and remarks upon the various parts of this Plan, approving of its general principles, but suggesting alterations or improvements in some of its features, particularly in respect to a workhouse, or domestic school, which Mr. Kirkland wished to have established, where females could be taught sewing, spinning, weaving, culinary arts, and domestic economy in all its branches.

of Whitestown, and county of Herkimer, contiguous to the Oneida nation of Indians, for the mutual benefit of the young and flourishing settlements in said county, and the various tribes of confederate Indians; earnestly wishing the institution may grow and flourish, that the advantages of it may be extensive and lasting, and that, under the smiles of the God of wisdom and goodness, it may prove an eminent means of diffusing useful knowledge, enlarging the bounds of human happiness, aiding the reign of virtue, and the kingdom of the blessed Redeemer."

This preamble is followed by a deed, conveying to the trustees of Hamilton Oneida Academy several parcels of land, amounting in all to several hundred acres; one lot of twelve acres, on a beautiful eminence, about half a mile from his house, commanding an extensive prospect, to be used as "the ground-plot of the Academy and its necessary buildings and accommodations, and never to be alienated, and the rents, profits, and issues of the rest to be disposed of and laid out in the best manner for the interests of the Academy, at the discretion of the trustees."

This liberal donation to its funds, as it is termed in the vote of thanks presented to him by the Board of Trustees, soon brought

the institution into existence and operation. A large and convenient building was erected on the designated lot, the services of an able preceptor and assistant secured, and at length Hamilton Oneida Academy became an important literary seminary, exerting an extensive and beneficent influence in forming the minds and character of the generation ripening into manhood, upon what was then the confines of Christian civilization. In 1810, it was elevated to the rank of a college, and received considerable additions to its funds from the patronage of the state of New York and the subscriptions of benevolent individuals.

From causes, which it is not needful or proper here to discuss, its growth and importance as a college have not equalled the anticipations that were once entertained, but it has always held a respectable rank, and sent out into the community its fair share of those, who have become eminent and useful in the professions and other walks of life.

It is no injustice to the wise and good men who coöperated with him, to say, that this institution owes its origin to the personal influence, the persevering exertions, and the liberal donation of Mr. Kirkland; and had he done nothing else, this would entitle him to

the grateful remembrance of the people of Central New York.

The establishment of this school for the mutual benefit of the young and flourishing frontier settlements, and the various tribes of confederate Indians, forms the last important act in Mr. Kirkland's life. He always, indeed, continued his labors, as a missionary and a minister, as far as his health would permit, and, as a man and a citizen, took a lively interest in all that related to the welfare and improvement of that intelligent, enterprising, Christian community, which had gathered around him, and converted into a garden of beauty that wilderness, which he had first trod many years before, as a solitary and self-sacrificing missionary. But the fifteen years that he lived after this were marked by much ill health, severe pain, and bodily infirmity. They were darkened by pecuniary embarrassments, family bereavements and misfortunes, and many sad and painful events, that may be briefly alluded to, but need not be dwelt upon in detail.

He returned from Philadelphia, benefited in his general health, and with some improvement in his sight. He never, however, after this time, had the free and perfect use of his

eyes, and often suffered great pain in the one that had been wounded. In one of his journals he writes, "I can write but a few lines at a time, and some days none at all. Blessed be God, that a disposition to reflection and meditation increases in some proportion to the failure of the faculty of vision. May this trying and instructive providence be suitably improved by me. I feel as though the thought of losing my eyesight would be utterly insupportable. But nothing is impossible with God, and if I am united to his kingdom by benevolent and holy affection, I may be assured all things shall work for my good."

In January, 1794, the Board of Commissions received a communication from Oneida, signed by eleven chiefs, "in behalf of the nation," preferring a formal complaint against Mr. Kirkland, charging him with a want of interest in, and neglect of, his mission, with long, frequent, and unnecessary absence from his charge, and asking to have him removed and Mr. Crosby appointed in his place. A copy of this communication was immediately sent to Mr. Kirkland, by order of the Board, and a committee was subsequently appointed to visit the Indians at Oneida, and inquire into the grounds of their complaints against him, and into the general state of the Society's missions there. The

Reverend Dr. Belknap and Dr. Morse ultimately constituted this committee, and proceeded to Oneida in the summer of 1796. Mr. Kirkland was so sick during their visit, that he was able to have but one interview with them, could talk but little, and render but slight aid to their investigations. They reported favorably, however, in respect to him, and also presented to the Board, in conformity to their instructions, a very full and interesting report on the condition of the Indians at Oneida and the vicinity, the causes of past failure, and the prospects of success in future missionary labors among them.

As soon as his health and strength permitted, Mr. Kirkland prepared and sent to the Board a vindication of his character and fidelity as an Indian missionary, supported by documentary testimony from the Indians themselves. In this paper he proved that the letter of complaint against him was "not the voice of the nation;" that it was prepared and sent secretly; that, of those who signed it, two were "boys in years, but not in vice;" that most of the others "were pagan in faith, and some of them infamous and profligate in character;" that the only Christian Indian, who signed it, "did not understand what he signed;" that the whole complaint was an intrigue of his old enemies, the rem-

nant of the French or Pennet party, who could never forgive his faithful censures and admonitions; that they were advised to the measure by the unworthy portion of the white population, with whose interests and traffic among the Indians his influence interfered, and by the Reverend Mr. Sergeant, his brother missionary at Stockbridge, who had some envy of the broad lands given him by the Indians, and some jealousy of the position and reputation he had secured among them by thirty years of devoted services to their cause. He then reviewed his whole connection with the Oneida nation as their missionary, particularly his absences for the eight or ten years previous, showed that they were not so large as had been represented, and that they were most of them undertaken in behalf of the Indians, to advocate and promote their interests, and commonly at their request. "I pretend not," he says in conclusion, "that the sins and frailties of human nature, with imperfections peculiar to myself, have not mingled with my performance of the sacred office I hold. I know and feel that they have; but I profess to have a consciousness of a sincere desire and endeavor at all times to promote the cause in which I am engaged. I am happy that my cause is brought before those, in whose decision I shall most certainly

acquiesce, for on their wisdom, justice, and tenderness I have perfect reliance."

At a meeting of the Board, on the 25th of August, 1796, after consideration of the report of their committee, and Mr. Kirkland's communication and accompanying testimony, it was unanimously voted, "that the complaints exhibited against Mr. Kirkland are not supported, and they are dismissed accordingly."

In September, 1795, "by the stumbling and starting of his horse," Mr. Kirkland was thrown to some distance on hard, stony ground. The shock rendered him insensible for some minutes. From the effects of this fall he never entirely recovered. For five or six years immediately following, he was much of the time an invalid and a great sufferer, subject to frequent and severe attacks of pleurisy, and intense pain, and difficulty in the other parts affected by the fall. He had tasked his strength by thirty years of incessant labor and exposure, and his constitution began now to give way.

In the spring of 1797, information was received and transmitted to him by the secretary of the Board of Commissioners in Boston, that the honorable Society in Scotland had voted, "that, in consequence of the situation of Mr. Kirkland, they consider the connection between them and him dissolved." Two

years subsequently to this, the failure of his son, George Whitefield, who was extensively engaged in business enterprises and speculations, and for whom he was bondsman in several instances, stripped him of all his property but his homestead farm, and involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, from which, for the remainder of his life, he had to struggle to relieve himself.

In 1805, his youngest son, Samuel, died in Boston, and, in 1806, his son George Whitefield, at Jamaica. Of the former of these events he was informed by the following letter from the only son, who lived to cheer and soothe his declining years by a filial reverence and affection, which, as exhibited in his constant correspondence, was singularly devoted and tender.

“Boston, November 25th, 1805.

“MY DEAR PARENTS,

“With painful sensations, I am to inform you, that it has pleased God to lay his holy hand upon us by a new kind of affliction. On Saturday evening, your son Samuel breathed his last in Christian peace and hope. May God enable you to receive these melancholy tidings in a becoming manner, and give you all the support and consolation which you will eminently need. It is a grievous event to me.

It wrings my heart. Many a tender solicitude, many a delightful sensation, have I had on account of this dear brother. Many of my most pleasing hopes rested upon him. He was growing continually more valuable and interesting to me. For the sake of you and other friends, as well as myself, I could not but wish him to live; and I trusted, that, if spared, he would be useful to the world, and repay all my cares by acting well his part.

"I know that your hearts receive a deep wound by this bereavement. You looked to this young man to be an honor to your gray hairs, and the solace of your age. But God has chosen to draw a cloud over all these prospects, and to make your parental affection an inlet of grief and woe. You are too conversant with the truths and promises of religion, and the grounds of submission to divine Providence, to need any instruction or persuasion from me, on the subject of Christian resignation. I hope we shall all both bear and improve the dispensation aright. Nature dictates sorrow; religion allows it, but demands consideration. May we be brought to the footstool of God's throne by serious inquiry, holy resolution, and fervent prayer. We have a solemn duty to perform, as well as a severe calamity to endure.

“If we are corrected and improved by the trouble, if we come out of this tribulation as gold tried by the fire and fitted for the master’s use, we shall have reason to say, it is good to have been afflicted. If we fail of this, we have something more to weep for than the departed youth, viz., our own intractableness and insensibility. God help you and us, my dear parents, to mourn comfortably and to mourn profitably. May he give you, my dear sisters, all necessary support; heal your wounded spirit; draw you nearer to himself by his chastisement; so that, though sorrow endure for a night, joy shall come in the morning. I shall write more by the next opportunity. We cannot help trusting it was a kind providence which retarded Mrs. Lothrop’s return, that she might be here to watch the pillow and close the eyes of our lamented Samuel.

“Your son, with all duty and affection,

“J. T. KIRKLAND.”

These repeated bereavements, these complicated troubles and misfortunes, Mr. Kirkland bore with as much patience and fortitude as is commonly granted to poor human nature. It does not appear from his journals or letters that they soured his temper, or embittered his feel-

ings, or checked his philanthropy, or lessened his disposition or his efforts to advance, as far as his health and ability would permit, that great cause of humanity to which the ardor of his youth and the mature vigor of his manhood, all his time and all his talents, had been zealously devoted. His piety and filial trust in God continued unshaken, and a source of infinite peace. The confidence and support of the corporation of the college were not withdrawn, though they had occasion for several years, during his troubles and ill health, to exercise forbearance and charity, in respect to his comparatively limited labors and partial or delayed reports.

Nothing is to be found among his papers throwing much explanatory light upon the vote of the Society in Scotland, passed in 1797, dissolving the connection between them; nor is it necessary now to make any extended comment upon it. That vote can never invalidate the record and the evidence, which the preceding pages contain, of his long, faithful, zealous, and devoted labors to promote the best good of the Indians, and to introduce among them the blessings of Christianity and civilization. If that vote stands in their records as it is found among his papers, it was, in form, hardly civil, in substance, of at least question-

able justice, and certainly destitute of generosity and a considerate kindness. For thirty years Mr. Kirkland had borne the commission of the Society. During all this time, with the exception of the confused period of the revolution, and up to the trouble in his eyes, in 1793, his journals or reports to the Society had been singularly full and complete, receiving often their votes of commendation and approval, and evincing, on his part, an amount of labor, exposure, hardship, wisdom, prudence, perseverance, and success, which, if it be that some have surpassed, few have equalled. To offset all this, and justify such a vote in such a form, evidence of unquestionable, continued, and *intentional* unfaithfulness is requisite; and this, it is believed, will not be charged, and cannot be proved, against him.

For a year or two previous to the passage of the vote, in consequence of the failure of his sight, and the frequent absence from home of his daughters, who often acted as his amanuenses, his journals were not very regular or very full. But this cause was known to the Society, and, in view of his long and faithful services, might have claimed some forbearance. As his vindication of himself against the complaint of the Indians, and the report of the committee, and the action of the Board

of Commissioners upon the subject, had been transmitted and were before the Society, it is difficult to determine to what the vote refers, when it says "in consequence of the situation of Mr. Kirkland" the connection is dissolved, unless it be his ill health or his property; the first, in the opinion of the Society, disqualifying him for the duties of his mission, the second requiring him to discharge them without compensation. But ill health, after thirty years of hard labor, and in consequence of that labor, ought not to be met with abrupt dismissal from any office, much less from that of a Christian minister or missionary; and the possession of property does not require that services, that are valuable or useful, should be given without compensation.

In the days of his prosperity, Mr. Kirkland frequently thought of relinquishing his salary; but he retained it on what he deemed good and sufficient reasons, some of which might have been gathered from his vindication, already before the Society. This matter is occasionally alluded to in letters to members of his family. He considered that the question was, not whether he was rich or poor, but whether a mission to the Indians was a valuable public service, worthy of being paid for; and, if so, that he ought to retain his salary, because,

though he might be able to do without it, his successor might not. He considered further, that his property, though valuable, was not very productive, and that he had already disposed of a large portion of it to found a literary institution for the benefit of the Indians themselves, from whose bounty and gratitude it was derived.

But the chief consideration was, that every year he expended nearly all, and some years more than all, his salary in gifts and hospitalities to the Indians. His house was the constant resort of Indians from all the Six Nations in their wanderings to and fro, and particularly of those on the territory of the Oneidas, and in his immediate neighborhood. They were continually coming to him for assistance or advice in things temporal and spiritual; and when they came, they expected to be entertained. Fond of nocturnal conferences, they commonly arranged it so as to pass the night at or near his house, and supper and breakfast had to be provided for them. It was no unusual thing for him to furnish seventy, eighty, and sometimes even a hundred meals to Indians in the course of a single week. This was the custom, and he could not break it up. It had its uses and benefits, and he was

willing to submit to the inconvenience.* In his prosperity, he retained his salary to meet the expenses of this hospitality; and but a short time elapsed after the Society in Scotland withdrew their portion of it, before he needed it, more than he ever did in his life.

But it was not intended to dwell upon this matter so long. In 1800, he wrote to the secretary of the Society, transmitting copies of his journals that were due at the time he was dismissed, sketches of what had been done since, or occurred among the Indians, together with some other documents respecting himself and his connection with the Society. Towards the conclusion of this letter, he says, "I have no uncharitable thoughts or disrespectful sentiments towards the Society; though, with all my imperfections and omissions, I cannot suppose I deserved to be wholly, and so abruptly, renounced by them, as unworthy of their esteem or patronage. Yet do I bring no charge of injustice, believing that they acted upon in-

* This custom continued even after Mr. Kirkland's death. Up to the time of the removal of the Oneidas to Green Bay, the writer scarcely ever remembers visiting the mansion of his grandfather without finding one or more Indians, sometimes numbers of them, on the premises. They seemed to consider themselves as having a right there.

formation or conceptions by which they thought they ought to be governed. I shall only request that they will allow me to lodge with them such documents and representations, as in my opinion are due to my character and my feelings, and the character and feelings of those who are connected with me, and whom I am unwilling to disgrace or grieve, and such as may possibly lessen, if they do not remove, the unfavorable impressions concerning me entertained by the excellent and venerable body of which you are secretary."

This letter was also accompanied by a communication from the Board of Commissioners in Boston, recommending that, in consideration of his former services, and the great change in his pecuniary circumstances, some provision, either by way of annuity or grant, should be made for him by the Society in Scotland.*

No answer from the secretary to his letter is to be found among his papers, and no evidence that he received any. In close connec-

* About this time, it is believed, the Society in Scotland discontinued most of its missionary operations in the United States; since which, its Board of Commissioners in Boston, though its existence is continued, has had little to do, save to act as agents in receiving and transmitting funds and reports in relation to Moor's Indian Charity School, connected with Dartmouth College.

tion with his letter to Scotland, there are copies of several long letters that passed between himself and the Reverend Mr. Sergeant, the Stockbridge missionary, in which the unworthy part played by the latter, for several years, in exciting prejudices, originating or circulating misrepresentations in relation to him, is clearly unfolded and rebuked. It was owing to the influence of these prejudices and misrepresentations, perhaps, that the Board of Commissioners in Boston, while they recommended an annuity or grant in consideration of long and faithful service, did not urge or recommend his reappointment by the Society as one of their missionaries.

A reappointment, indeed, was not necessary to Mr. Kirkland's usefulness, although it might have gratified his feelings, and removed whatever mortification he felt at his dismissal. So far as he needed a commission from any body of men, he had it from the corporation of the college, whose servant and missionary he was still continued. But he had a stronger commission than any body of men could give him, in his forty years of devotion, toil, and sacrifice, as an Indian missionary, and in the gratitude, reverence, and affection, felt towards him by the great body of the Christian Indians at Oneida and the neighborhood. By

the Northern Missionary Society of New York, and from other quarters, other missionaries were sent to reap in the field which he had ploughed and sowed.

But they did little good, with some positive harm. Their principal effect was to distract and disturb; and no one of them remained, or found it expedient to remain, any great length of time. The Christian church and society among the Oneidas would, and did, to the last, regard Mr. Kirkland as their missionary and minister, "commissioned of God, and sent of Christ, whether approved or not of men." In one of his last communications to the corporation, he says,

"Whether I hold the office" (of missionary) "or not, while I live and have any capacity for service, I must do much of the duty. I know their language and manners. I love them, and they me. I have learned to bear with their ignorance, their perverseness, their dulness, and not be angry or despondent. I have been accustomed to all that is odious and disgusting among them. They must and they will always come to me, and expect to receive from me counsel, instruction, sympathy, and hospitality. Since the American revolution, I know of no period when I have had more of the confidence and affection of the Christian part

of the Oneida nation, and of no part of my missionary life when I engaged in its duties with more fidelity and application. Bodily infirmities, incident to an advanced life, have indeed occasioned some interruptions; but I think I have employed my time, exerted my talents, and spared no sacrifice, to render myself useful among these poor Indians, my old and very dear charge."

The writer has heard these declarations confirmed from the lips of some yet living among the Oneidas, who can well and distinctly remember his last years.

Thus did the setting sun of his life break out, for a brief period, from the clouds that had darkened its decline, reflecting some brightness upon their gloom, and going down in calmness and peace. After a brief but severe illness, he died of pleurisy, on the 28th of February, 1808. His remains were carried to the village church at Clinton, where a sermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Norton, and then deposited in a private grave near his dwelling, where they still rest, with those of his widow and a daughter on one side, and the Indian chief, Skenando, on the other.

Any strong words of eulogy would not come with propriety from the writer, nor is he disposed to utter them. In closing his pious and

grateful task, he may be permitted this observation, that, with faults of character and mistakes of conduct that justly exposed him to censure, his ancestor had many noble qualities of mind and heart ; qualities that made his life one of eminent usefulness, a sincere oblation upon the broad altar of duty and benevolence. His labors and sacrifices were in a cause which excites alike our sympathy and our regret, in behalf of a race who seem destined to be swept from the earth, leaving no memorial of themselves but the history of their sufferings and their wrongs, and of the failure of all efforts to benefit and bless them.

This failure has not been so complete and entire as some are disposed to regard it. To discuss its causes, and to speak of the political influences and measures which have so largely contributed to the failure of Indian missions, because they have so largely contributed to the destruction of the race, is forbidden by the limits of this memoir. But this failure has not been absolute and entire. Into the remnants of several tribes missionary efforts introduced industry, intelligence, art, Christian faith and virtue, to such an extent that, had the Indians been left in the quiet possession of their lands, and of the progress they had made, some of their villages would have compared not un-

favorably with the white settlements around them, and afforded conclusive proof that the aboriginal race of North America could be civilized, if wisdom, zeal, prudence, and perseverance, were properly directed to that end.

The chapter on Indian history is the darkest and saddest chapter in the annals of this country; and the end is not yet. This is a subject the interest of which has not all passed away, nor our duty and obligation in relation to it ceased. There are still nearly half a million of Indians within the territories of the United States; and it is thought by some that at this present time they are on the increase. If the law of the strongest, and the higher law of social, intellectual, and moral progress, give us a right to enter upon the lands which they neglect to subdue and cultivate, the law of humanity and Christian love demands that, guided by the experience of the past, avoiding its errors, correcting its mistakes, gathering wisdom from its teachings, everything be done that the power of the government, and the labors of the missionary, the wealth, the intelligence, the philanthropy and the zeal of a great nation can do, to save them from the vices, and introduce among them the elevating influences of Christian civilization.

A P P E N D I X.

Remarks on the Agency of Joseph Brant in St. Clair's Defeat.

MR. STONE seems not to have ascertained with entire correctness the position and conduct of the Mohawk chief at this period, and for a few months previous. In his "Life of Brant," after describing minutely the battle in which General St. Clair was defeated, on the 4th of November, and stating that *Little Turtle* was the leader of the Indians, he adds, "It is believed, however, that, though nominally the commander-in-chief on this occasion, he was greatly indebted both to the counsels and the prowess of another and an older chief. One hundred and fifty of the Mohawk warriors were engaged in this battle; and General St. Clair probably died in ignorance of the fact that one of the master-spirits against whom he contended, and by whom he was so signally defeated, was none other than Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea. How it happened that this distinguished chief, from whom so much had been expected as a peacemaker, thus suddenly and efficiently threw himself into a position of active hostility, unless he thought he saw an opening for reviving his project of a great north-western con-

federacy, is a mystery which he is believed to have carried in his own bosom to the grave." Vol. II. p. 312. He then says, in a note, "This interesting fact has been derived by the author from Thayendanegea's family. He has in vain sought for it in print." From what one of the highly respectable descendants of Colonel Brant "this interesting fact" was derived, Mr. Stone does not state; but there is probably some mistake in the family tradition.

Mr. Kirkland's correspondence with the war department during the winter of 1791-2, copies of which are preserved among his papers, was minute and particular, written from the heart of the territory of the Six Nations; and with all the facilities for correct information which his character and intimate connection with the Indians afforded, and this correspondence proves,

First, that at the last of November, "Captain Brant had been for some time dangerously sick at Grand River, and for some weeks his life had been despaired of, but was now slowly recovering." If, at the last of November, he had been for some weeks sick at Grand River, it is scarcely possible that on the 4th of the month he was fighting against St. Clair at the Miami villages.

Secondly, that Captain Brant himself declared to Dr. Allen, Mr. Kirkland's messenger to him with a letter, "that thirty-six of his men, including twelve Cayugas and a few Senecas, were in the action" (of the 4th of November;) "that they went off without Brant's approbation, and contrary to his advice."

Thirdly, that "the western Indians were much

offended with Brant for refusing to join them, and had severely threatened him and his whole party ;” that “ a severe and alarming message was sent from the Shawanese to Brant by the Mohawks, who were in the action, in these words : ‘ You chief Mohawk ! what are you doing ? Time was when you roused us to war, and told us that, if all the Indians would join with the King, they should be a happy people, and become independent. In a very short time, you changed your voice, and went to sleep, and left us in the lurch. You Mohawk chief ! you have ruined us, and you shall share with us. Know it is not good for you to lie still any longer. Arise, and bestir yourself.’ ” Had Brant taken an active part, by “ counsel or prowess,” in the battle of the Miami, the western Indians could not have been offended with him, nor have sent him the above message, which was actually delivered in the secret council at Buffalo Creek, mentioned in the context, of the proceedings of which Mr. Kirkland obtained accurate information.

Fourthly, that “ it was *reported* that Captain Brant intended to put himself under the protection of Congress ;” and that “ it was *unquestionably a fact*, that he had sent privately to some principal families in the Six Nations, to sound them, and find what course they intended to take for their own interest and safety.” This shows that Brant was undecided whether to join the western Indians, or to seek the protection and cultivate the friendship of the United States.

The foregoing statements from Mr. Kirkland’s

letters to General Knox, which, considering his opportunities for correct information, are more worthy of reliance than any family tradition, establish beyond question the fact that Brant was not present at the battle of Miami, and also go to prove what has hitherto been a matter of some doubt, viz., that Brant's visit to the Miamis in the spring of 1791 was undertaken for pacific purposes, and not with the intention of actually joining them in hostile array against the United States ; and as this is more honorable to his character and his fame than even to have caused the defeat of St. Clair by his "counsels and prowess," the writer has thought it due to his memory that it should be made to appear.

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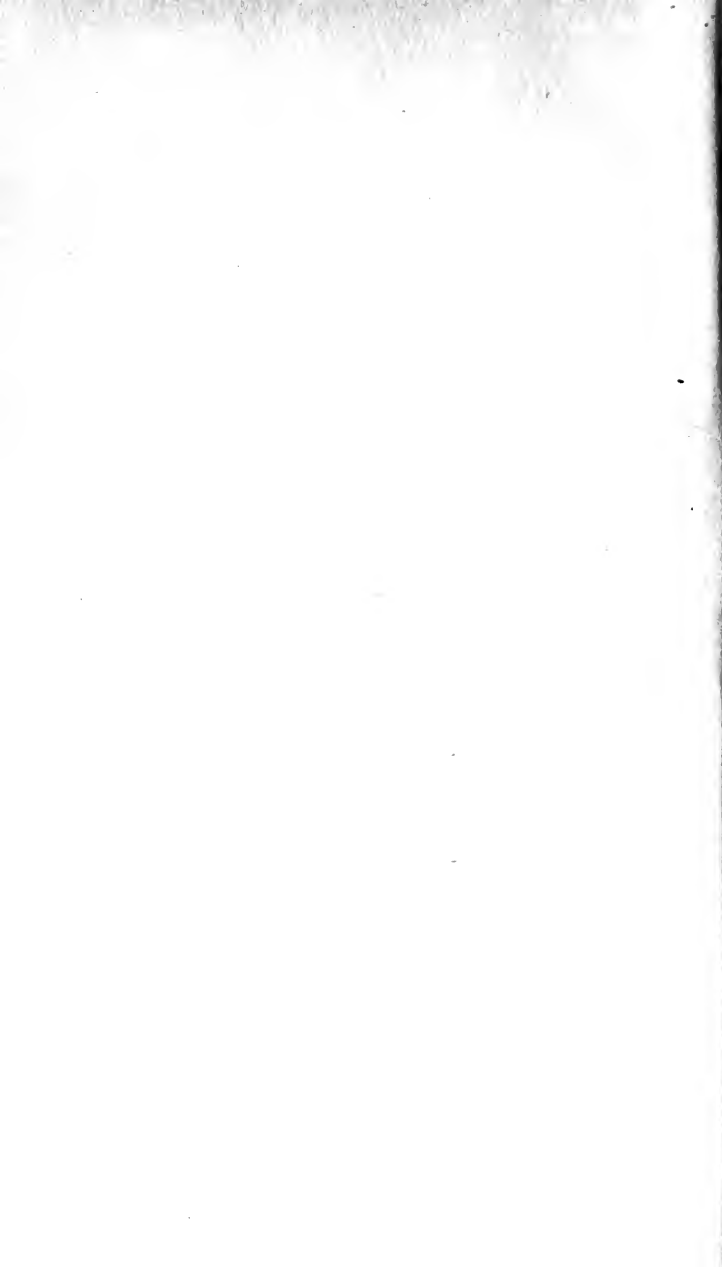
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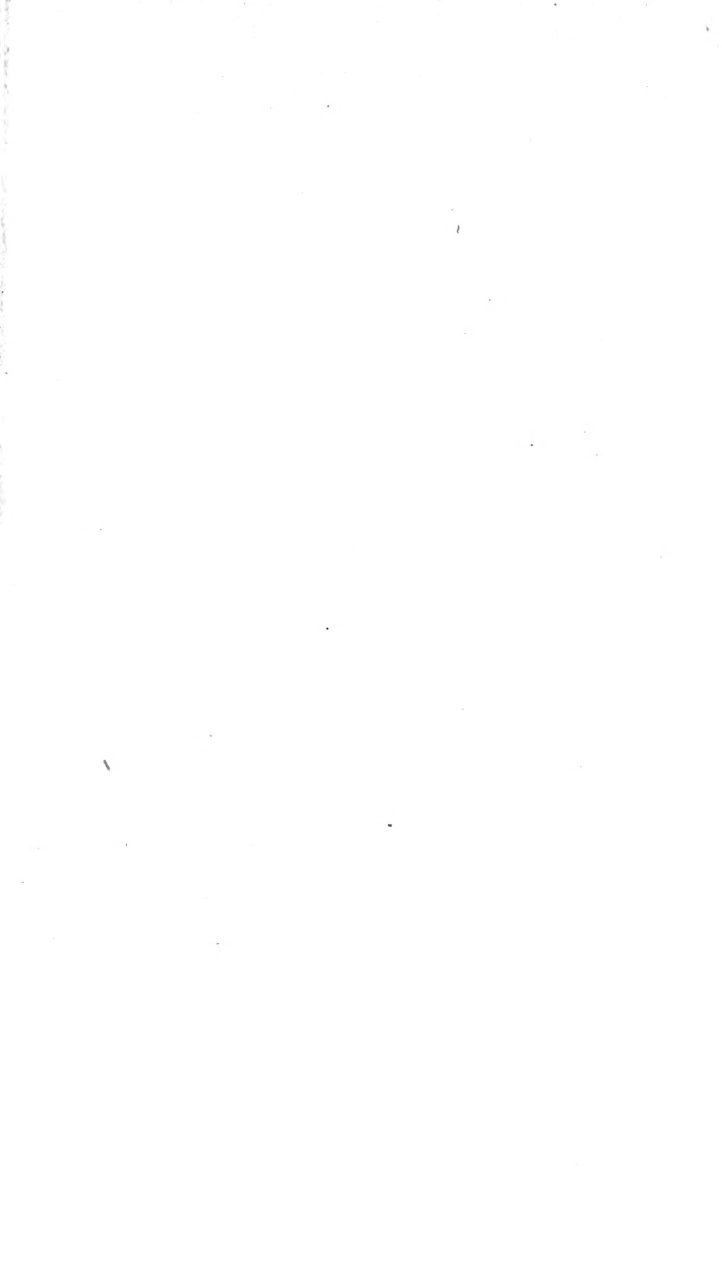
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